

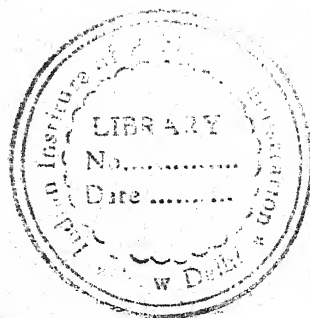
CRIME AND WOMAN
A PSYCHO-DIAGNOSTIC STUDY
OF
FEMALE CRIMINALITY

Dr. B.R. SHARMA

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION DIVISION
Indian Institute of Public Administration
I.P. Estate, Ring Road, New Delhi-110 002.

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Way back in 1987 when I was discussing some of the burning social problems with one of my old Research Associate, Dr. U. Dhar, the idea of working on the problem of 'Female Criminality' struck to the mind. The basic question that was haunting in this connection was, why the woman who had been considered so mild and tender hearted become so wild and turn into a hardened criminal. Something, must definitely be bothering them. "What is that 'Something' which is bothering them", was the nagging question that led to this piece of Research.

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New Delhi;

B.P. SHARMA

CHAPTER - I

Problem of Female Criminality

Introduction

The phenomenon of male criminality has been widely studied. But female criminality has not so far been substantially studied in India. It has almost been ignored and neglected, presumably for the reason that women have been perceived to be passive, less aggressive and more disciplined. They are supposed to be having relatively-speaking, more endurance and are, therefore, considered to be less prone to criminality.

Apart from the bio-psychological characteristics, the process of socialization and social expectations also create a difference. These phenomena keep the females apart from males and require them to behave differently. For instance, a male is required to be independent, active, aggressive and willing to take greater risks while a female is required to be just the reverse. From the very beginning the females are brought up in a different way. They are taught to be modest, self-restrained and conformist to the social norms.

Whatever may be the reasons the fact remains that female criminality has remained almost an untouched field of research in India. But in view of some change in social status and role, more exposure to external world, more awareness of rights and more frequent expression of aggression, women too have started indulging in crime,

As a result, the tendency of crime in them has increased.

Crime in India (1979) reports an increase of 9% in the incidence of total cognizable offence (1966-71). During this period, the proportion of female arrests had gone up. This increasing trend of crime in women produces an alarming effect in society and seeks social defence.

It would be worthwhile to study this phenomena and find out as to why the woman who had so far been considered as tender, kind-hearted and mild is becoming more wild and violent day by day and adopting the path of criminality. There could certainly be some worthwhile reasons or causes that might have pushed her to crime. If so then, what are those reasons or causes that prompted her to crime? Where do these causes lie? What measures could be adopted to control the increasing rate of crime etc. etc. In order to find an answer to these nagging questions, that the present study was initiated.

Objectives

The prime objective of the study was to identify the motives or causes that led women to crime. However, other background factors e.g. age, education, income, etc. were also proposed to be studied to see whether female criminality was having something to do with these factors.

Secondly, it was proposed to critically examine certain prevailing dogmas regarding women and see whether these are tenable in the fast changing world!

Thirdly, it was also proposed to explore certain ways and means adopting which the social conditions of women in India could be improved and thereby rate of crime^{be}/reduced.

Hypotheses

In line with this thinking the following hypothesis were proposed to be tested:-

1. The female criminality would prove to be more a case of social phenomena than an individual affair and would be a function of more than one factor.
2. The situational factors would contribute more to female criminality than mental or personality disorders.
3. Frustrated woman would be more vulnerable to crime, than a normal woman.
4. The younger women would be more liable to crime than the older ones.
5. The uneducated woman would be more prone to crime than the educated woman.
6. The poor woman would be more vulnerable to crime than the rich women.
7. The women coming from rural background would be more likely to commit crime than the women from urban background.
8. There would be greater probability of married women committing crime than the unmarried or divorced ones.

9. The women belonging to large family size would be more prone to crime than the women belonging to small family size.
10. In view of the complexity of the situations, as is prevailing, the female criminality would be more likely to increase than decrease.

Scope

The study had enough theoretical as well as practical scope. Theoretically, it would provide more understanding about women and their problems. And practically it would help the government and other social welfare agencies in rehabilitating females properly soon after they come out of jails.

CHAPTER - II

Conceptual Frame Work of Female Criminality

The term criminality has been widely used in respect of males. But it was never used so popularly in respect of females. It was almost ignored until 1890. Not because that females did not commit any crime but because the attitude of the society towards females was so liberal and protective that it hardly took any serious view of their deviance. The criminal justice system which was also predominantly a male one considered crime to be a man's reserve and took female crime lightly and leniently. Police did not like to prosecute female offenders, Jury did not like to pass a verdict against them, and judges did not like to convict them.

Under these compassionate conditions, no effort was made to explain female criminality in a scientific way nor any theory as such was developed. Moreover, when it began to be explained in terms of theories of male criminality, there was hardly any need felt to develop a particular theory to explain this phenomena separately. But the entire scenario is now changed. In view of the increasing trend of female crime; the challenges it has thrown; and social defense it needs, there is a need to re-examine these theories with a view to see whether they have any relevance today and whether they explain the female criminality, in a new social situation. These theories

which explain criminality are:

1. Biological Theory
2. Psychological Theory and
3. Familial Theory

1. Biological Theory: Lombroso & Fererro

The oldest and the most popular theory in the field is the biological theory which attempts to explain criminality in a scientific manner through an examination of individual deviant. Ceasare Lombroso an Italian is said to be the father of this theory. He initially started his work on the male criminals. Deeply impressed by Charles Darwin (who moved the world by his theory of evolution - in which he stated that men are descendants of apes), Lombroso said that the Criminals are born and the root cause of the criminality lies in their biological make up. He identified certain physical characteristics or anomalies in the criminals which differentiated them from the non-criminals. These characteristics were said to be the characteristics of a primitive men. And the criminals who were having such characteristics were considered atavistic or biological throw backs relegated to sub-human level. These characteristics which he identified in the male criminals were:

1. Apprehensible foot
2. Large Jaws
3. Outstanding ears
4. Large cheek bones
5. Long arms
6. Hairyness etc.etc.

In 1893, Lombroso and his son-in-law Ferrero tried to apply earlier work (on male criminality) to the female criminals. They measured the skulls and brains of the females and found that "Fallen women have the smallest cranial capacity of all. That the female criminals have skulls more like men than like normal women and that their brains weighted less than normal women". (The female offender).

They further revealed that female criminals are shorter in height, weight more and are precociously grey more frequently than normal women. Such offenders do tend to retain their hair however, grey it may be, since baldness is less common among female criminals than among normal women.

Additional characteristics identified were that female offenders have darker hair & eyes; prostitutes have longer hands, bigger calves, and similar to female thieves have larger Jaws. In fact, most of the Physical anomalies occurred more frequently in prostitutes (fallen women) than in other types of females offenders which indicated the degeneration typical of 'born' criminals.

The application of atavism, which Lombroso had previously ascribed to male 'born' criminals did not coincide with the physiology of female offenders except in the cases of some of the prostitutes. In order to circumvent this challenge, Lombroso and Ferrero concluded that a criminal type of female was rare for a number of reasons:

1. Women revealed more conservative tendencies in questions of social order;
2. They are less exposed to society since, as home makers and rearers of children, they lead more sedentary lives;
3. They are more primitive than men in that they have less active cerebral cortexes;
4. And they innately have less inclination towards crime.

Lombroso and Ferrero argued that women offenders reveal fewer signs of degeneration because they have evolved less than men. Having developed less far from their origins, they argued that women could also degenerate less far, being as all women are relatively primitive, the criminals amongst them would not be visible and would be less degenerate than their male counterparts. They accounted for the less evolved nature of women in terms of the lives women naturally lead.

To sum up, Lombroso viewed female criminality as rooted in the biological make up. Criminality is an inherent feature of the female species. This constitutionalist

position ascribed to the female criminals developed in them a tendency, to be cruel; to be more ferocious, Vengeful and Jealous than the male. They generally lack in intelligence and passion. Further the criminal woman was seen very much close to the normal woman since Lombroso felt that the majority of women were only occasional criminals. The exceptions were prostitutes who he felt were born criminals. On the other hand, female criminals were considered as deserted or neglected infants.

W.J. Thomas

Soon after Lombroso and Ferrero, W.J. Thomas appeared on the horizon of criminology. Thomas and his wife, Harriet were strong supporters of women's rights. Thomas was working as a faculty in the University of Chicago. The University authorities did not like him to fight for the cause of women. So he was dismissed from the University.

Thomas wrote a book on "Sex and Society" in the year 1907. In this book he challenged some of the assumptions held by Anthropologists. One of their assumptions that women are inferior has been strongly criticized by him. He says that the anthropologists have failed to distinguish between congenital and acquired characteristics. While explaining the inferiority in women, he states that:

"At a certain point in history women became an unfree class, precisely as slaves became an unfree class".

Otherwise, women initially was a dominant life force. She became inferior and unfree later while trying to adjust to man. Such adjustment changed her attitude and modified her behaviour. According to his view morality of the man is contractual and lies in his adjustment to rules and regulations of the society, whereas women's morality is more personal and lies in adjustment to men.

Like Lombroso and Ferrero, Thomas also discussed the women brain and its weight and came to conclusion that brain efficiency was the same in both men and women. This was quite contrary to the findings of Lombroso who found women to be lacking in intelligence. Though women's brain was found to be smaller than the man, yet any difference in its intellectual functioning he argued, is not biologically based. It is rather socially influenced.

Despite the criticism which Thomas levelled against his contemporaries, some of the propositions presented by him resemble Lombroso specially when he dichotomizes the sexes in terms of 'Katabolic' and anabolic dimensions. Men were categorized as Katabolic or more rapid consumers (destroyers) of energy as demonstrated in their feats of strength and bursts of energy, whereas women were described as Anabolic, as they conserve and store energy. Men are just like animals who eat plants as well as other animals and spend their energy in destruction, whereas women are just like plants which store nutrients and conserve energy

Thus, women represent the constructive part of the metabolic process (anabolism). Characteristics such as stability, endurance and passivity are thus associated with the anabolic female, quite in contrast to the destructiveness of the Katabolic male.

Thus, the similarity to Lombroso's thesis is seen in the earlier work of Thomas who determined that the physiological differences of Katabolism and anabolism are indicative of differences in social behaviour between the males and females.

But the later work of Thomas which appeared in the form of a book titled "The Unadjusted Girl" is a landmark in the history of deviant behaviour. It was a definite break through with the Lombrosian's biological impact since Thomas introduced another variable, that is, the influence of social environment on deviant behaviour which together with inborn instincts contribute to total behaviour.

Thomas concept of human wishes which he found to be a governing factor in criminal behaviour, was greatly influenced by a psychologist, John Watson who had earlier identified three basic instincts that he felt were innate and present in infants at birth. And these were:

1. Fear
2. Anger and
3. Love

Thomas viewed these fundamental emotional patterns as beneficial in terms of specific life functions. For example, anger was seen as preserving life; fear responses aid in avoiding death; and love contributes to the reproduction of species. Thomas also identified four human wishes and said that these wishes are the human forces that lead him to action. The human wishes which he identified are:

1. The desire for new experience.
2. The desire for security.
3. The desire for response, and
4. The desire for recognition.

Thomas discussed the role of girls in the background of these desires. He said that the girl's role is more circumscribed by her family through a series of aesthetic moral definition of the situation. She becomes demoralized and the beginnings of delinquency in a girl were seen by him as related to an impulsive desire to obtain amusement, adventure, pretty clothes, favourable notice, distinction and freedom in the large world.

Thomas in "The Unadjusted Girl" refers a study of 647 prostitutes that described the low economic status, deplorable home conditions and lack of education of these girls. When these girls were questioned. They gave following reasons for becoming prostitutes:

1. Bad family life
2. Bad company
3. Bad married life
4. The desire for pleasure (clothes, food, theater) &
5. The desire for money.

These sociological and economic oriented motivations clearly negate any connection with a notion of biologically predetermined prostitution.

From the above discussion, it is clear that biological pre determinism is gradually losing the ground. And it is proving inadequate to explain female criminality.

Despite the limitation, however, the biological approach has not completely ceased to influence the minds of persons like Cowie, Cowie and Slater who are trying to relate female criminality to chromosomal differentiation. They contend that since 'y' chromosomes represent masculinity, therefore, criminality is masculinity. And the females who commit crime are by inference masculine. They may have chromosomal deficiencies or abnormal structure of chromosomes. But there is a paucity of knowledge about the role of chromosomes in sex development and even less information on chromosomal influences in criminal causality.

Hence, their observations were also found too inadequate to explain female criminality.

However, the recent work done by endocrinologists highlighting the influence of hormones on behaviour

particularly on the criminal behaviour of female has raised some curiosity and at the same time controversy. But as there is no clear cut evidence to prove the fact, one can not positively say that female criminality is having something to do with the Hormones.

Recently, more attention has been paid to the generative phases of women that is to Menstruation, Pregnancy and Menopause. Each of these phases is undoubtedly, influenced by Hormonal changes. But it is still controversial whether such biological changes are responsible for the deviant behaviour of females. The mere fact that many female offenders commit crimes during their premenstrual period is not sufficient enough to prove that there is a casual relationship between this procreative phase and female crime. All females after attaining a particular age and in normal conditions go in for menses every month. But all do not commit crime. Moreover, the researches conducted on this period which is so complex, are also having a number of limitations and inconsistencies. As such, no definite conclusion can be drawn.

Similarly, very little is known about the relationship between pregnancy and crimes of women. There is also far less evidence concerning the incidence of female crimes and the menopausal phase of women.

From the foregoing discussion, it could be concluded that biologically based behaviour centering around the

constitution, menses, pregnancy, and menopause finds little empirical support. It is doubtful whether any single factor can explain criminality in women. Anatomy alone therefore, cannot be the destiny of women. Their criminality leaves much to be desired.

2. Psychological Theories:

Quite contrary to biological theories, there are certain psychological theories which explain female deviance in terms of its psychological origins. Such a perspective appears to have considerably influenced the society in general and the criminal justice system in particular as a rationale for determining the cases of female delinquents.

The most pervasive theoretical position regarding female crime and its causation is however rooted in the psychoanalytic writings of sigmund Freud. The two major Freudian concepts from which most of the theories of female deviance have evolved are:

- a) The structure of personality and
- b) The psycho sexual stages of development of child.

It would be worthwhile to discuss these concepts in brief to better understand the female deviance.

a) The structure of the personality

According to Freud, the structure of personality contains three major systems:

1. The id
2. The ego and
3. The super ego

Each of these systems is interdependent, however, the human behaviour or personality has been considered to be the end result of their continual interaction. The nature and function of each of these systems in brief are given below:

1. ID

The id is present at birth and includes all the instincts. It contains all inherited psychological characteristics and is always seeking pleasure and avoiding pain. It demands immediate gratification and seeks the reduction of any discomfort or tension. It is guided and governed by pleasure principle.

2. EGO

The ego, on the other hand, operates within the confines of the "Reality principle" which has the primary objective to prevent the discharge of tension until an object which is appropriate for the satisfaction of the need is found out in the external world.

Thus, the ego transacts with the objective world as mediator between the instincts and the environment.

3. SUPER EGO

The Super Ego also attempts to inhibit the impulses of the id, particularly those most censored by society e.g. the aggressive and sexual urges.

The super ego develops in the last through the process of socialization, the interaction between parents and child seen primarily in rewards and punishment. Later it becomes the "Moral arm of personality" and thus seeks perfection and not pleasure .

b) The Psycho Sexual Stages of Development:

Freud believed that the early years of life are the most crucial determinants of personality formation and that every child passes through well defined psychosexual stages of development; each of these stages is dynamically different and is characterized by certain developmental periods. These developmental periods are Chronologically divided into three stages. These stages are:

1. Pregenital stages (Oral; Anal and Phallic) are those stages which are narcissistic oriented and are predominantly concerned with the stimulation of one's own body;

2. The latency period is that period during which impulses are contained and there is little dynamic psychological activity; and

3. The genital phase or the final stage is that which begins in adolescence and culminates in adult maturity.

Freud felt that each of us must successfully pass through these stages of development. If we fail, personality difficulties of various degrees are likely to appear and seriously affect our later lives.

While all of the pregenital stages are most influential in the ultimate development of our personalities, the phallic stage is the primary focus of psychogenic explanations of female deviance.

The Phallic Stage:

The child enters the Phallic stage at about 3 or 4 years of age. At that point of time, sex organs become the central zone of dynamic activity for the child. Prior to reaching this stage, the psycho-sexual development of both boys and girls is highly similar. But in Phallic stage, there is a clear cut divergence in sexual development between the boys and girls. Masturbation and aggressive feelings are two major activities which are associated with this stage. Each of these activities lays the foundation for the manifestation of oedipus complex.

Oedipus was a Greek character of ancient origin who killed his father and married her mother. So Freud has named this complex after his name. The oedipus complex consists of a cathexis of love for the parent of the opposite sex and a cathexis of hate or hostility for the parent of the same sex. If this complex is not resolved properly, it might create behavioural problems and lead

to maladjustment in life.

The dynamics of the oedipus complex is more clearly seen in the case of boys than in the case of girls. The boy loves his mother and desires to have her. But when he finds that father is in between, he develops rivalry, jealousy and hostility towards his father. He fears that father might punish him severely and even castrate him for harbouring such incestuous wish. This develops anxiety in him.

Thus love for mother and fear from father produces in him a complex which is called oedipus complex. He tries to resolve this complex by identifying with his father and repressing his desire for mother.

Through this identification, the boy not only achieves a normal resolution of the oedipus complex but also attains the final development of the super-ego which is the final moral inhibitor of sexual and aggressive impulses.

But in case he fails to resolve this complex then, it creates problem for him and leads him to abnormal behaviour which ultimately might result in criminal behaviour.

But this process is much more difficult for girls. The girl also loves her mother in the beginning. But she suffers a great set back when she discovers that she does not have that which a male has. She envies the males which is called "Penis envy" and blames her mother for this serious lack and stops loving her. But when she finds

that her mother is also like her lacking in that respect, she transfers her love to the father who represents male. She wants to possess her father and tries to compensate her loss as a symbolic satisfaction of her unconscious desire. But this process places her in a situation of great conflicts and competition with her mother whom she envies for having her father.

Thus love for father and hate for mother produces in her a complex which is called Electra Complex.

The girl tries to resolve the complex by identifying herself with mother. But as Freud says the girls are never really able to resolve this problem. As such, the oedipus complex tends to persist in them for an indefinite period of time. As a result they are unable to develop as strong superegos as boys. Since girls already perceive themselves as castrated, they have less motive for giving up their possessive love for the father. Although they do eventually achieve identification with their mother through absorption of her moral values. But in case they fail, it might lead them to abnormality or criminal behaviour.

The Freudian interpretation of female behaviour is not limited to penis envy. But, it could be extended to any problem occurring at any stage of their psycho sexual development for example, faulty mechanisms of fixations or other problems may occur and give rise to crime in females.

Most of the early literature assumes that female delinquency is predominantly sexual and therefore, tends to focus on that specific aspect of Freudian psychoanalytic theory only. Blos, for example, directly states that "in the girls, delinquency seems to be an overt sexual act, or to be more exact, a sexual acting out". The basis of his theory is that preoedipal factors determine the etiology of female delinquency.

Berskovitz explicitly states that "the predominant expression of delinquency among girls in our society is promiscuous sexual behaviour". He views promiscuity as a symptom of underlying psychological causes. The promiscuous girl is seen as psychologically maladjusted for a variety of Freudian - based reasons:

- a) Penis envy
- b) An unconscious wish for the father
- c) A basic feminine need to be wanted and loved and the like

According to Berskovitz, women have an underlying desire to be wanted and loved and concomittant wishes to serve, to mother, and to sacrifice. The need for love and nurturance originates in early mother - child relationship and if the girl does not find these needs satisfied, personality traits and symptoms such as sexual promiscuity are developed. Other possible causes listed by Berskovitz in the etiology of girls sexual promiscuity are:

- a) to prove that they are equal to boys (or the manifestation of the Freudian concept of penis envy),
- b) a defence against unconscious homosexual impulses because of a fear of sex, where the acting out behaviour attempts to overcome the fear by proving there is really nothing to it in the first place,
- c) an unconscious (incestuous) wish for the father - whereby sex with another man functions as a substitute for the father,
- d) confusion in identity,
- e) psychosis; a defense against psychosis,
- f) assuaging underlying guilt feelings by committing the sexual act and being punished for it.

Despite this variety of possibilities, all rooted in psycho analytic thought, each is felt to stem from only one type of deviant behaviour - that is sexual acting out.

Other psychogenic approaches to female delinquency also presume some form of emotional disturbances somehow related to sex. In "The adolescent girl in Conflict" Konopka discusses unwed pregnant girls. She feels that the problems of a delinquent girl irrespective of the type of offense, "are usually accompanied by some disturbance or unfavourable behaviour in the sexual area", and that the primary concepts involved in girl's delinquencies are (a) excessive loneliness and (b) a low self image.

The explanation offered is that the girl searches for romance and finds it through sexual experience; but where it is discovered, then she is rejected by society. As a result of the rejection she becomes more self-destructive or delinquent. Konopka sees adolescence as a painful experience for girls, one that results in loneliness and despair. The psychological development of girls particularly the oedipus complex is more difficult for girls to negotiate than for boys.

Other familial hazards konopka describes include a competitive situation with the mother and the dangers of incestuous relationship with the father. As a result of these fears, the adolescent girl finds herself in conflict and experiences a tremendous guilt as well as strong ambivalence toward her mother. This tends to disturb the identification process and makes identification with the mother difficult or impossible to accomplish.

In sum, the final picture of such a delinquent girl includes, 1. excessive loneliness, 2. a low self-image, 3. estrangement from adult society, and 4. the incapacity for friendship with contemporaries.

Although Freud's genius and contribution cannot be totally disputed yet there are certain concepts which are still controversial and could therefore, be debated, for example concepts like female's penis envy, oedipus complex of female, her weaker super-ego and total neglect of social context of females.

One of the Freud's disciples, Alfred Adler Challenged Freud's notion of female's penis envy and said "Sense of inferiority was created in women not because they felt less well endowed physically than men but because an unnatural relationship of male dominance exists between the sexes". While substituting the concept of "Masculine Protest" for Freud's concept of penis envy of women he said, "If it takes an active form in women, they attempt from an early age to usurp the male position. They become aggressive in manner, adopt definitely masculine habits or tricks of behaviour and endeavour to domineer every one about them".

Another disciple of Freud, namely Karen Horney totally rejected Freud's notion of female's penis envy and the castration complex in the normal development of women. According to Horney "Mutual envy was shared by both sexes although girls did envy the boys greater ease in urination and masturbation". Horney further added ^{that} there was a male envy of the female or a femininity complex of a man which was more severe than the masculine complex of women. In her book "Feminine Psychology (1967) Horney points out that women envy men really for those opportunities men have in a male-oriented society that are denied to women. She also stresses the importance of social and cultural factors that are in interaction with biological ones.

A comprehensive review of studies that attempt to trace evidence of the oedipus complex in women emphasizes

the limitation of an endeavour that concentrates only on three persons i.e. the mother, the father, and daughter, where there is the larger context of the entire family and its influences are required to be considered. Besides there is very little evidence of the female oedipus complex. It is also difficult to support Freud's idea of the weaker super-ego of women, because if one must generalize on the subject, then, one would find that males may also have the weaker super-ego. Females show more super-ego in the sense of less lawless behaviour, more conformity, stronger moral code, more upset after deviance and anticipating punishment from an internal rather than an external source. Females also tend to judge social violations more severely.

Several contemporary feminist writers are critical of Freud's theory because they feel that Freud used men as the normative standard by which he assessed women who are seen as inferior "little men". Because he considered a woman's sex organ as inferior. He viewed them inferior not only anatomically but also emotionally as well. The female offender who is more masculine is seen as a sexually misfit. Since her rebellion and aggression are indicative of her longing for the envied organ of male.

Freudian theory of female is based upon psychological indices only and has ignored other factors such as social, political, and economic realities which equally affect the females and are responsible for her crime. Freud's "anatomy

is destiny" position assumes the social reality of People's behaviour as given and ignores human needs, when the true reality is that many women commit crime for economic reasons. They need food, clothing and other things. Hence, they commit crime.

In sum, there is paucity of research in psychoanalytic theory concerned with female which leaves several major issues inadequate to explain female deviance. The literature that approaches the problem from sociological angle appears to offer more promise.

3. The Familial Theories:

In addition to Freudian theory, other major theories to female deviance are familial theories. These theories are largely based upon relationships within the family, particularly with the parents. Despite the familial emphasis, these theories are also rooted in the Freudian model and a common thread of pathology in the girl is seen all through as the cause of her delinquency.

In his observations of sexual delinquency among middle class girls, Ackerman finds that the family tends to stimulate and facilitate the acting out of adolescent sexual behaviour. A self-fulfilling prophecy is demonstrated by a tendency of middle class parents to project to the girl that she will be bad, then when she is indeed bad, to punish her for it. This "defensive hypocrisy of parents" forces her

to discharge her aggression toward her family by revolting through sexual misbehaviour, while secretly the girl is frigid and does not enjoy the sexual experience.

Gertrude Pollak's exploration of premarital sexual conduct among culturally deprived girls reached similar conclusions. The girls in Pollak's study also had poor self-concepts, negative images of family life and problems with authority, but the social dynamics involved were related to the culture of poverty. It is difficult for the mothers of large, lower-class families to provide a warm and understanding relationship to their children, since the day-to-day struggle to survive takes up most of their energy. These mothers cannot respond to their children's needs, which go unsatisfied. The poor self images of these girls are the result of a lack of positive experiences in the familial relationship, the marital conflicts of the parents, and the struggle for physical survival by the family. Pollak finds this especially true since the mother also has a poor self-image. The lack of sustained authority coupled with poor experiences in school and with the Police, further contribute to authority problems in lower-class girls.

Cowie et.al. have extensively reviewed earlier studies of delinquent girls and stressed the following factors since these are common to most of these studies:

1. Poverty
2. Broken or otherwise poor home environments
3. Parental disharmony, and
4. Other social and family-related problems have an impact on the female delinquent

Disturbance of the home life is seen as one of the primary causes of juvenile delinquency. Most of the delinquent girls therefore, come from abnormal families. Such families have (a) poor discipline, (b) lower moral standards, (c) greater number of conflicts which ultimately result in pathological deviations among girls.

Cowie et.al.'s own research involved 318 mostly sexually delinquent British girls (14-17), who were found to experience defective relationships with their parents (80% of the cases) in a "deprivation syndrome". Although they could not get reliable estimates of incest. However they assumed that such incidents are higher with brothers and, further, that many female run away leave home because of sexual approaches made by father substitutes. They conclude that girl delinquents (compared to boy delinquents) come from:

1. Economically poorer homes that contain more mental abnormality;
2. Their families have poorer moral standards and discipline;

3. There are more conflicts and disturbed relationships within such homes, most of which are broken; and
4. There is greater mobility or more frequent changes of residences in these families.

Female delinquency is also explained as a failure of the girl to identify with her parents and, concomitantly, the inability of the parents to effectively control their daughter's behaviour. One comparative study of delinquent and non-delinquent girls hypothesized that female delinquents fail to identify with their parents because of a lack of stable, consistent social interaction. Socialization was seen as main dynamic, force. Therefore, whatever impedes the effective socialization of a child contributes to the child's delinquent behaviour.

A checklist measuring the extent of a girl's identification with her parents and her own self-esteem was administered to 119 mostly white, protestants institutionalized girls. There it was assumed that socialization requires a stable, consistent parent child interaction, but these conditions were not met in the case of delinquent girls.

Several other factors were identified as peculiar to the delinquent girls:

- a) lower family integration,
- b) less parental interest,
- c) rejected parental roles,
- d) frequent school residential moves,
- e) broken homes and
- f) characteristics demonstrating a lack of nurturing, stable, and continuous interrelationships in the family.

One final cross-cultural study of the perceptions of the adequacy of parental roles and the extent of parental affection should be noted in this discussion. Individual personal interviews with 25 Anglo and Hispanic- American delinquent girls and an equal number of non-delinquent girls, matched on age, IQ, and SES, focused on the mother-father-child triad revealed that the delinquent girls felt that neither parent gave them the amount of love they desired, but felt more-loved by their mothers than their fathers. Although they did not identify with either parent they chose their mother more often than their fathers for identification. When the delinquent girls got into trouble, they had few resources to turn to, since because of the estranged parental relationship. They tended not to turn to their parents and they also had fewer extra familial social contacts and group memberships than the non-delinquents. They would rather turn to their mothers on such occasions than their fathers.

However, many of the forces within the family that work against the girl and result in sexual delinquency are associated with the father. The family dynamic emphasis on the father figure is seen, for example, in the flight from an incestuous threat, rejection by the father, the longing for a missing father excessive parental strictness and possible over stimulation or actual seduction by the father. From this perspective the father daughter relationship is far more significant than other variables present in the home such as inconsistent parental controls and over permissiveness where sexual delinquency is concerned.

CHAPTER - III

Review of Literature

Western Scene:

There is a scanty literature on female criminality as compared to male criminality. This is either because women committed fewer crimes that too of a simple nature or because society ignored their crimes by virtue of a certain attitude towards them. Whatever the case may be still one thing is clear that the earlier thinkers hardly paid any serious attention to female criminality. They had certain dogmas about the nature of women and were gripped with such a deep rooted notions that they hardly believed that women can commit any serious crime. They attributed this lack to their mild nature, moral superiority, submissiveness, physical weakness, uncleverness etc. and therefore, assumed that women are less inclined toward criminality. Hence, very few studies were available.

One may or may not agree with these assumptions. However, the fact remains that legally or statistically, women have had lesser number of crimes at their record than their male counterpart. Whatever may be the quality or quantity of their crime it would be worthwhile to review the literature relating to their crime through a historical perspective. Here only the major studies would be mentioned with due regard to the rest that have

been dropped without any bias to avoid repetition and unnecessary coverage.

PRE-WAR PHASE:

LUKE OWEN PIKE & ELY VAN DE WORKER

The first study that one comes across during this period was by one Luke Owen Pike (1876). The major finding of this study was that since women lack in physical strength they tend to develop a habit which do not permit them to commit a crime.

But Ely Van de Worker in the same year presented the view that women commit fewer crimes because they do not get as much opportunity as men to commit crime. They face fewer temptations than men. Otherwise, the causes of crime are the same for men and women. He did not agree with the general belief that women are morally more superior than men.

CAESARE LOMBROSO

One of the most interesting and scientific study that focussed its attention exclusively on biological factors of crime, came to light when in 1900 Cesare Lombroso, published his work on crime and criminals. Although Lombroso's work was mainly confined to male offenders, yet he also made a significant contribution in the field of female offenders. His major finding that rocked the world was that certain male criminals are

born with an inclination toward crime. He asserted that the criminals are morally degenerated persons and are marked by certain physical stigma or characteristics which differentiate them from non-criminal persons.

The characteristics which he identified in these criminals were squinting eyes, a twisted nose, a receding forehead, big ears, generally hairy bodies and an instinct for tatooing.

But quite in contrast to male he could not find as many examples of females except some prostitutes who could be characterised as born female criminals. But whatever number he could find, got him convinced that women are even as more vicious and dangerous as men. While highlighting the nature of women Lombroso tried to depict a negative picture of women for example when he says that women are normally less sensitive to pain, less compassionate, they are usually jealous and full of revenge, he is not only showing a prejudice against the female but also doing injustice to them as is evident in the later researches. Lombroso later seems to have softened his attitude towards them when he says that these lady like qualities however, are tempered by more typical female attributes as for example piety, maternity, feminine weakness, and underdeveloped intelligence.

He further compounds the issue when he says that women are just like over grown children, and when they become bad, they are infinitely more hideous than men. He observes that women criminals are usually devoid of maternal affection (which is a proof of their degeneracy), and are infact extremely masculine. The shortcomings found in normal women are not only absent but are also untempered and extreme in criminal women.

Lombroso wrote not only about the born criminals but also about the occasional criminals. Most of them were women who he said were having no stigma or physical characteristics. They were therefore, less likely to be a born criminal than the male criminals and were more likely to display the characteristics of an occasional criminal. In other words, the majority of female offenders according to Lombroso, were occasional criminals who may be termed as situational offenders of opportunity. They might have possibly been drawn into crime by a man or by a situation of excessive temptation. Lombroso supported his observation by giving an example of shop lifting which is a common female offense and which usually occurs due to the over temptation of the goods displayed in stores. Women may not be having a very strong sense of property but they have been found to be having a knack for ornamental, decorative, cosmetic goods and fine clothing which are essential for them to attract a man.

Although women do not always commit crimes directly but they at times, instigate their husbands or lovers to do so. When they are caught, they play ignorance and stubbornly deny their part in the crime. Yet at times, they confess quite readily. The reason given by Lombroso for their quick confession is their need to gossip which is so powerful and compulsive in them that they can not live without it. Secondly, women can't keep a secret. Perhaps, they do not have the capacity to hide a thing.

Lombroso's concept of born criminal does not appear to stand on a firm footing. It is, therefore, untenable and unacceptable. Because what is stated to be true for females could also be true for males as well. The concept of atavism which he propounded, therefore, lost the ground and was challenged by later researchers.

However, there seems to be a grain of truth in what Lombroso says. As such his view of women has been resounded in subsequent researches.

HARGRAVE ADAM

Hargrave Adam (1914) differed from Lombroso and abandoned his basic notion that criminality might be innate or inborn. Instead he gave a new version of the causation of crime in its place and said that roots of crime lie in unfortunate social circumstances. Although women are generally away from these circumstances. Yet, when they turn to crime they are in credibly cruel since

their self control and moral responsibility are under-developed.

Adam seemed to have agreed with Lombroso to some extent when he noted the lack of maternal instinct in criminal women and characterised them as having lust of vengeance. He like Lombroso, believed that women often instigate crime. They are often involved in secretive crimes such as poisoning. The law treats them leniently which amounts to encouraging them for such acts.

Adam thus, quite different from Lombroso introduced various social variables as the major source of criminality, although, he also spoke of woman's nature quite apart from social circumstances.

SHELDON & ELEANOR GLUECK

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1935) published an enormous study entitled "Five hundred delinquent women" which described the criminal as thoroughly as possible. They analyzed them in terms of their family background, education, arrest record, the disposition of their case and concluded that a large portion of these delinquents were mentally defective. Most of these women came from lower income families and were arrested mainly for illicit sexual behaviour.

To sum up this phase, it would be appropriate to say that Lombroso was not the one and the last to search for the roots of crime; there were others also like Adam, Sheldon and Glueck who studied female criminals and added new dimensions to it quite different from constitutional factors as enunciated by Lombroso.

POST WAR PHASE:

OTTO POLLAK

The major work on crime and women during this period was done by Otto Pollak in 1950. He claims that the crime rate among women probably equals that of men. Women's crime however, has a "Masked character". While highlighting some of the crimes frequently committed by women for example, shoplifting, thefts by prostitutes against their clients, domestic thefts, abortions, perjury and disturbance of the peace, he alleges that these crimes are underestimated, underreported and are inadequately reflected in the statistics. He supports Lombroso's assertion that women are especially "addicted" to crimes that are easily concealed and seldom reported. In order to prove his point he cites the example of exhibitionism which frequently occurs among females but is never prosecuted.

Pollak contends that the social roles of women are excellent covers and serve as a smoke screen for hiding crime. Women are makers of the home; they care for children and the sick; they are domestic workers. These roles removed from the public view are ideal for hidden crimes. An example of which is the opportunity a women has to poison a sick child and the difficulty involved in detecting such an offense. Following Hargrave Adam, he also claims that women frequently instigate criminal behaviour in others.

While exposing the law-enforcing agencies Pollak argues that policemen do not like to arrest women; judges; prosecutors and juries do not like to assist in convicting them. This is due, in part, to their paternalistic and protective attitude towards women.

Pollak further assumes that women crimes are characterized by deceit and asserts that virtually all criminologists will support this. He explains the deceitfulness of women's crimes through culture and biology. Although physical weakness can force a woman to resort to deception, he does not overestimate its importance. Given the present level of technology, (Guns have a way of cancelling the value of brute strength) he discusses the role of biology in combination with social factors. He alleges that women disguise sexual response, conceal their period of menstruation and withhold sexual information from young children.

These basic facts in woman's life, according to Pollak give her training in deception and develop ^{in them} /a different type of attitude toward truth. Likewise, women are expected to attract a husband indirectly through charm and subtle pressure. Thus, society condones and even encourages deceit indirectly among women. All criminals wish to remain undetected but, due to their training, women are more likely to be successful in this regard. Moreover, they concentrate on victims who are less likely to be discovered. Poisoning one's child was mentioned earlier. Sexual offenses by women against children are also easily concealed. Since women are expected to handle children, therefore, a sexual attack by a woman hardly leaves any physical evidence.

As regards crime against property, women are likely to play the unobtrusive role of decoy or accomplice. In addition, their roles give them opportunities to steal directly and remain unpunished; as domestic, they can steal little by little from trusting employers; as prostitutes, they can steal from customers who are unlikely to report the offense.

Pollak maintains that greater freedom has allowed woman to enter new positions and new roles, thereby giving them more opportunities for participation in crime. They still maintain their traditional roles however, with all

the criminal possibilities they afford. So, the type of involvement of women in crime has not simply changed, it has rather increased.

Pollak also notes the social factors, including the double standard, that help create female crime. The double standard leads to frustration and envy on the part of women. It can push them toward false accusations against men (charges of rape for example) and even result in aggressive behaviour toward husbands or others.

However hard Pollak might have tried to establish his point of view he does not offer any proof, for his statements. It is difficult to believe in the existence of undetected crime since its very nature implies that it is unknown. Such a proposition is not based on evidence and is therefore, not tenable. The likelihood that women are poisoning their sick husbands and children is not only ridiculous but is also unfair and biased. How could Pollak possibly know that such crimes are taking place? Likewise, his claims of sex offenses against children and female exhibitionism are boldly stated without any evidence or even reasonable explanation. Such arguments could easily be levelled against men as well.

In his effort to prove that female crime equals male crime, Pollak discusses only the minor offenses of females for example domestic , thefts, perjuries and disturbances

of peace etc. but he ignores that similar or rather more serious crimes e.g. aggravated assault, robbery, burglary are usually committed by males.

Pollak contends that women are treated leniently throughout the criminal justice process. But he forgets the possibility of women being punished more severely for failing to meet traditional expectations. Pollak thus, assumes more than proving the fact.

Whatever may be the limitation however, Pollak's work has some merit. Most importantly, he recognizes the fact that the involvement of women in crime is connected to their social position and roles. According to him the relationship of women to society serves as a key in understanding their patterns of deviance. As we turn to more recent sociological studies of women and crime it will become apparent that ^{howsoever} / deficient this early work may be, it has had a profound impact on later studies, since common themes and assumptions are found throughout.

SPARROW, FRANKLIN, PARKER

The method of investigation of female criminality had undergone a slight change during 1960s. During this period, the focus of study shifted from general to specific individual cases. Hence, individual women criminals were taken up for study. Sparrow (1970); Franklin (1967); and Parker (1965) made their efforts in

this direction. These case studies, undoubtedly offer some insight, but hardly throw any light on the etiology of female crime. They create a sensation, rather than adding something new to the criminality.

These studies frequently accept Pollak's assumption that female crime is more extensive than what it appears and contend that women are not more virtuous than men but their social roles enable them to hide their deviance. Sparrow, writing as recently as 1970 maintains that women are prone to murder by poison, and that the act is often emotionally inspired. Like Pollak, he points out the women's "natural aptitude for subterfuge", which compensates them for their lack of strength. His book is an account of several murder cases.

EDITH de RHAM

Another study of female criminal which deserves mention is by Edith de Rham (1969). The very title page of the study "How could she do that"? Suggests its implications and reverberates Pollak's assumptions. The following extract makes it clear:

"Women possess, as most criminologists, policemen, prison authorities and husbands would agree, an inordinate talent for concealment and deception which both characterizes the feminine style and makes the female law breaker harder to catch" (de Rham, 1969:5).

De Rham connects this with the subordinate role of women in society, which necessitates indirect action. She claims that like all groups in an inferior position, women use deceit to compensate for their powerless conditions. She gave the example of blacks to illustrate her point. But if de Rham is correct in this assumption, then, it is difficult to explain why black males, still subordinate in society, have such high rates of reported crime.

She refers to other factors mentioned by Pollak, including physical characteristics, the role of instigator or accomplice, the availability of excellent victims for women and women's roles as cook, nurse and shopper and contends in a more Freudian vein:

"There is impressive evidence that chronic shop-lifting, particularly among women who can afford to buy, is sexually motivated....the compulsion to steal is a form of sexual sublimation and may be minimized by psychiatric treatment of the sexual problem which causes it". (de Rham, 1969:13)

The 1970s:

The 1970s could be viewed as a revolutionary decade in the sense that it witnessed the emergence of a literature on crime and women that substantially challenged the previous work. It criticised some of the basic assumptions of earlier writings and vividly marked the impact of feminism on criminology. Although this new thinking was not without its difficulties, yet it began to explore

issues and questions that were heretofore left unexamined. Such a breakthrough is in itself a major contribution.

RITA SIMON & FREDA ADLER

In 1975, there were two noteworthy additions to the literature: Rita Simon's "women and crime" and Freda Adler's "Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal".

RITA SIMON

Simon mainly compiled data on the various dimensions of female criminality e.g. the extent of female crime, the number of women involved in various types of crime and their treatment by courts and prison officials regarding convictions sentence and parole and provided us a statistical picture of women's crime over several decades. On the basis of this compilation work Simon predicted that certain types of female crimes, particularly white-collar crimes, are likely to increase in future, due largely to expanding occupational opportunities for women. Their involvement in violence should however, decrease, since the frustration that leads to female violence is likely to be alleviated by their widening educational and occupational opportunities.

Although Simon's work is limited to a review of literature hardly bothering about the etiology of female crime) yet her discussion provides an excellent ground work for further analysis within the area of crime and women. She mentions that the women's movement has

probably had an important impact not only on female crime but also in altering the treatment of women within the criminal justice system. While treatment may have been more lenient in the past, but it is now going to be increasingly egalitarian.

FREDA ADLER

Adler's book presents a detailed picture of prostitution, drug addiction and Juvenile delinquency among females. She discusses startling increases in women's crime and tries to relate this phenomenon to the liberation movement of women.

Adler connects the rise of female criminality to the rise in women's assertiveness. Technology and the women's liberation movement combined together, persuade the women to participate in male crime. She assumes that women have the same basic motivations as men and they are now trying to enter into all fields that are considered as the reserve of men. In view of this she contends that the status of women in crime is going to change. Arguing that the public is sensitive to competition & people of accomplishment, she writes:

"They are not likely to ignore the increasing numbers of women who are using guns, knives, and wits to establish themselves as full human beings, as capable of violence and aggression as any man" (Adler, 1975: 15).

After discussing the physical and psychological makeup of woman Adler argues that male-female differences are much more the result of social factors. She relates the social factors of female to paternalism, which in turn, gives woman an advantage with the police and decreases their likelihood of arrest. Adler however, points out that girls are over prosecuted for sex offences. Unlike Pollak she contends, that at a certain point, women can be treated very harshly by the law.

The educated girls and women are more willing than ever to challenge traditional restrictions and social roles. Adler guesses that with the easing of restraints, females may be subjected to pressures that can increase crime.

How far Adler is correct, is a matter of conjecture. However, the way the things are developing points to a trend which may prove her right.

ROLE THEORY

A more enlightening approach to female crime has appeared in a number of articles by Morris, 1964; Heidenson, 1968; Hoffman Bustamante, 1973; Klein, 1973; Rosenblum, 1975. These writers recognize the limitations of earlier studies and discuss female crime in terms of sex-roles. They hold the view that female criminality is an illegitimate expression of role expectations.

They discuss the Process of female socialization and lack of opportunity and conclude that female crime is an extension of women's sex roles. For example, when women turn to crime, they shift from shoppers to shop lifters, from cashing good checks to cashing bad ones. Statistical evidence support this, since female crime continues to be basically petty and non-violent, with major increase in larceny, forgery, and similar crimes.

Sex-role explanations are, however, incomplete. They offer little understanding of actual women criminals and can easily ^{slide} into discussions of inadequate female socialization implying that individual difficulties rather than structural problems are at issue. The role theory, therefore, is very much restricted in its usefulness. It fails to discuss the structural origins of Sex-role inequality and inferior status of women in historical or cultural terms.

CAROL SMART

Carol Smart exhausts all her energy in criticising the existing literature in the field of crime and women. In her book on "women crime and criminology" (1976) she criticises the theorists like Lombroso and Pollak who deal explicitly with female criminality and blames others for accepting them as they are.

She discusses crimes like prostitution and rape, and exposes the ways in which women are sexually exploited. She connects such exploitation with their economic and political dependency. She also discusses the treatment of female offenders and the view of mental illness as a female alternative to crime.

Although Smart's book was the first feminist attack on existing theories on female crime. Yet, she only examined the work of others. This critical examination though provides a basis of building a new theory of crime, but she never bothered for it.

Scholars appreciated her work but they equally criticized her for not attempting to develop a theory of female criminality. For want of that, sketchy attempts made by her, are as unsatisfactory as other's work could be.

CRITES, BOWKER, BALKAN, BERGER, SCHMIDT

Several other books also reflect (as Carol Smart's book did), a new approach to crime and women although these works are not as theoretically sound as Smart's contribution.

LAURA CRITES

Laura Crites has edited a book entitled "The female offender" (1976) which discusses women criminals, women and the law, women in prison and prostitution. This work indicates the increasing interest in crime and women and reflects the current unwillingness to accept stereotypical views of women. In addition, she exposes the contentions that women are rapidly becoming involved in violent and aggressive offenses, or that the women's movement is contributing to increasing crime. The selected articles demonstrate a concern about the neglect of women in prison, the discriminatory treatment given to them in the criminal justice system, sexist laws, and paternalism.

LEE BOWKER

Lee Bowker's "Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System" (1978) deals extensively with statistics on crime and women, early theoretical frame works on the subject (upto Pollak), and a variety of related topics including female drug use, victimology, prostitution, legal inequality, and corrections. In his introduction, Bowker sets the tone of this new literature by discussing the criminal justice system in terms of male domination. He (1978: xiv) hopes that this will provide readers with "an increased sensitivity to the ways in which the criminal justice system systematically puts at a disadvantage the women and the girls it processes".

...and it is this which will provide the basis for an increased sensitivity to the ways in which the criminal justice system operates and the role of the woman in the process." Bowker goes on to reject early explanations of female crime. The discussions of female oppression surface repeatedly as he deals with male-female differences in drug use, rape, prostitution and the legal system. He concludes that both criminological theory and sex-role theory will have to be examined in order to explain the qualitative differences in male and female crime, as well as differences in role performance within certain categories of crime. He maintains (1978:80) that "developmental situational and macro structural variables" are involved in the causes of female crime and the roles women play within crime.

BALKAN, BERGER & SCHMIDT's text

"Crime & Deviance in America: a critical approach" (1980), is exceptional in providing a Marxist perspective on crime which in turn reflected the book's section on "women crime and deviance". They view the types of crimes women commit as a result of their socialization under capitalism and their opportunities. They maintain that sexism underlies female criminal involvement, their treatment in the criminal justice system, and the crimes committed against women. Female offenses, which are predominantly property offenses, and the punishments women receive, are related to their roles within the political economic structure. They note that class conflict plays an important role in the criminality of

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women. Citing Engels, they contend that women were not always subordinate to men and argue that the roots of female oppression lie in the development of private property and class societies, ^{and} not in their biological nature or their procreative functions.

Although Balkan, Berger and Schmidt acknowledge the peculiar lack of crime among women, they believe this is due to differential socialization and social control among men and women. They choose to emphasize, instead the crimes, the social control of prostitution and homosexuality. They contend that such behaviour is suppressed because it threatens sex roles and family patterns which are necessary in capitalist society. According to Balkan, Berger and Schmidt the sexism that bolsters capitalism in turn supports.

In sum, this book and others cited above represent a new trend in examining crime and women. ^{The} current writings are frequently inspired by feminist understanding of the role of women in modern society and their oppression. They are indicative of a new way of looking at the phenomenon.

CHAPTER - IV

Indian Scene

Although the crime rate of female is on the increase in India, still it has not received adequate attention. It has been taken lightly and has been considered merely as a dysfunctional phenomena. Hence, there are very few studies. It is a most striking feature of Indian scene that there has been no worthwhile scientific study of criminality amongst Indian woman before 1960, except a doctoral work by R.B. Jayakar (1950) which concentrated only on prostitution in Bombay.

After 1960, the psychologists, sociologists and criminologists etc. came forward and encountered the problem of female criminality in their own way. They undertook various studies and made serious efforts to understand the criminal behaviour of female. They did try to cover various aspects of this phenomena and made a significant contribution. Still, they could not come out with a definite theory about it. This however, did not undermine the importance of these studies nor did it reduce the significance of this phenomena. It rather made one curious to know more about their efforts in this direction.

While going back to the Indian literature, the earliest study that really broke the ice was one by Sharma (1963,85). Mrs. Sharma worked for her doctoral

work and submitted an interesting thesis on women offenders of U.P. She covered several aspects of female criminality and highlighted various psychological and social factors of female crime. Later, in 1985, she worked on murder committed by women and contributed an interesting article to the Indian Journal of Criminology. But the pioneering work in the field of female criminality was done by Ram Ahuja in the year 1966-67 which was later published in 1969-70. Ahuja conducted an empirical study on women criminal in Rajasthan and found that crimes committed by women are not because of a criminal tendency or disorganized personality but because of their maladjustment in interpersonal relations. All female murderers he studied were first offenders and did not have a crime record earlier. This further shows that criminal behaviour was not at all a part of their personality. As regards types of crimes, he found that 39 female convicts out of a total of 49, committed offense against person; 7 committed offense against property and 3 committed minor offences.

Later, Rani Bilmoria (1980) also conducted a study on the same pattern in Andhra Pradesh and got the similar results. Her analysis of the data collected from two jails of women in Andhra Pradesh showed that out of a total sample of 120 female convicts, 54 committed offences against person; 23 committed offences against property; and 43 committed minor offences. The type of crimes in

which the women were involved were murders, thefts, prostitution, kidnapping, etc. These crimes as she analysed were due either to poor economic conditions or unhealthy matrimonial or family relations.

As regards crime of murder Rani (1983) made an interesting observation. She reported that women committed murder either in bed room, kitchen, or in the backyard of the house. Her finding gets corroborated by Wolfgang (1958) who observed that most of the homicides by women took place within home and kitchen. Her analysis further revealed that while committing murder, women concentrated mostly on persons who lived closer to them. That means physical proximity or closeness were the facilitative factors for committing murder. She further observes that women may adopt any method to do away with the life of their victims. This fact was also supported by other researchers like Pollak (1950), Smith (1962), Smart (1976), Wolfgang (1958) and Ahuja (1970).

As regards the nature of assistance given by the accomplices, it was found that the accomplices assisted women at different phases of offence. These accomplices could either be men, women or both. Many a times women made use of their kinship relations for the purpose.

Types of Crime: The type of crime in which the women generally and easily get involved and fall victim is mainly related to their sex. For instance, crimes li'

abortion, assault, molestation, rape, prostitution, etc. are specific and peculiar to their sex only. Males, however, are invariably needed to complete the offence. Still, some of the crimes such as pickpocketing, theft and even dacoity with arms as reported by Kawale (1982) may be committed with or without the help of others. But other crimes like gambling, illicit liquor, prostitution and dacoity are not usually committed without the help of males. This allows us to infer that women do need the help of men to commit these types of crimes.

Rani in one of her article in "Yojna" of April 17, 1977 has referred various interesting reports on crimes committed by women. One such report on pick pocketing by Saroja Natrajan which got published in Bombay's Eve's Weekly on June 21, 1975 says that the women pickpockets "are most active during peak hours when trains and buses are packed... Their favourite period of activity is the beginning of the month from about first to the tenth". The women pickpockets concentrate on the women's compartment in trains and at bus stops.

Saroja reports a curious practice among the Mangarudis who belong to the category of criminal tribes. She says that a common custom among the women of this community is to commit an offence just before delivery and plead guilty so that when convicted the entire cost of delivery may be borne by the Government and they may

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get better facilities free of cost. Most of the women
pickpockets in Bombay are trained by the Mangarudis.

Women take to pickpocketing both because of their poor economic conditions and due to the influence of bad company and continue in the profession because of the obvious advantages.

According to Saroja a few of the pickpockets in Bombay were also kleptomaniacs. She cited the example of one such maniac who happened to be a middle aged Sindhi lady. The police could not get anything out of her. At the time of interrogation she kept mum and never told any thing to police. But the police were sure that she came from an affluent family. Once a while, she was arrested for petty theft and then, she disappeared. The last time she was arrested was in Delhi.

R.D. Shah reported, the case of a woman criminal named "Putli" who was a member of a group of dacoits in Chambal Valley and was superior to other criminals both physically as well as mentally. Putli was probably the most dashing woman dacoit in the country. Born to a prostitute she herself entered into her mother's profession. Once she came into contact with a criminal dacoit and married him. Later she herself became an active dacoit. Of course, this is a rare case of its kind.

In April 1976, a 30 years old woman entered into the district headquarters hospital at Eluru in Andhra Pradesh with a Stethoscope and walked away with the gold necklace of a woman patient. The woman pretended to be a doctor and asked the rich patient to lend the necklace to her for a while so that she could show it to her doctor husband downstairs. The "doctor" left her stethoscope on her bed signifying her intention to return soon, but she never returned. This is a clear case of cheating.

It is interesting to note that the Ex-Maharani of Kolhapur put on the garb of 'Mataji' and cheated a number of devotees who came to her for blessings (Andhra Jyoti, March 29, 1976).

Sometimes crimes are also committed owing to sheer belief in the efficacy of certain crude magico-religious rituals and sacrifices. On November 22, 1975 in Pune one lady sacrificed the lives of a number of virgin girls at the altar of goddess Munja with the sole objective of receiving the blessings of the goddess for her own physical and spiritual welfare. Of course, such incidents are usually reported from tribal and semi-tribal areas and the causes lie in the tradition and culture which are respected by the groups.

But it is equally true to the other groups and communities from non tribal areas. The issueless women can go to any extent to get a son. They have been even

found to sacrifice small children to get a son, to perpetuate their lineage and name. Since the Indian Society is more or less paternalistic (except the north eastern part of India where it is maternalistic). It always prefers a male child to be born in the family.

Women also indulge in different types of criminal and anti-social activities with a view to improve the economic conditions of their families. Sometimes they think that involvement in such activities is not bad, and in fact in some cases the men also encourage the women. According to one report, women of the fishing folk take recourse to gambling during their leisure time when the men are away on the sea to catch fish. This way they earn five rupees a day out of which they spend one or two rupees towards the family and the remaining amount is saved for their individual recreation or for gambling in future. This habit has led to intra-family and inter family conflicts in the fishing community. The impact of this habit could easily be seen on their children also.

Women also work as accomplices in different criminal activities. It is observed that many a times women take up the job of distilling the liquor illicitly and selling it at the instance of ^{their} husband or other relatives as a partner.

Many of the brothel houses are managed by the men and women together. Women as well as men act as pimps or procurers of girls. Brothel runners keep their girls for training in the profession. It is a report that traffickers in girls have set up a chain of centres all over the country. These centres obtain girls through kidnappers and other sources and distribute them to brothels throughout the country.

A news item from Meerut reports that while they scan the hill areas of U.P. and tribal areas of M.P., Bihar and Rajasthan their contacts operate in the south which is said to have become the main source of supply ever since the procurement of girls from Nepal became difficult. Similar practices are reported in the southern states as well.

These days clandestine prostitution is becoming rampant. While some girls take to prostitution for economic reasons, some others fall victims to the procurers for various other reasons. The ambition to become cinema stars drives many young girls away from homes into the lap of the procurers. Some working women with a view to achieve higher standard ⁱⁿ life, act as call girls too.

There are also cases where women even kill their husbands or paramours out of revenge. B.J. Karkaria writes that a woman called Manjusa, aged 30 "together with her lover allegedly killed her husband with a scythe and sickle and threw his body in a well. The husband was drunkard, the lover Kamath, was fair and of high caste".

Poisoning is the usual method of killing used by women "very seldom does a woman kill in moment of uncontrollable emotional heat or frenzyonce a thought of murder enters a woman's mind it is impossible to get rid of it. It becomes a merciless monomania which she has to translate into actuality". This statement, however, requires a careful empirical testing. All these examples/^{however}show that women are involved in almost all the crimes. And there is hardly any crime which the women cannot commit.

Causes of crime: There is not a single cause or factor of the female crime but various multiple causes or factors are responsible for it. Ahuja in his study has discussed various situational and environmental variables that compel women to commit crime. In view of these variables most of the crimes committed by women are due to stressful family situation, marital maladjustment, disharmonious and often conflict - Prone relationship

with husband or In-laws and become the central point around which the female criminality centres. Thus it is evident from his study that maladjustment and or strained interpersonal relationships within the family is one of the most important causes of criminality among women.

Rani (1983) supported the findings of Ahuja and said that in slightly more than 70 per cent of cases, domestic factors played an important role. These factors help in developing a hostile attitude in women towards the victim. But the major and the direct role in pulling out such criminal attitude and acting it out was done by provocation. The provocation included friend's or lover's instigation.

In their study of inmates of Remand Home in Bangalore, Eswari et. al. (1982) reveal that the Patho Plastic family patterns and social background like broken homes, parental rejection, faulty discipline by parents, undesirable peer group relations, socio-economic conditions etc. tend to attribute to hysterical personality traits associated with anti-social behaviour among female offenders.

Mishra and Gautam (1982) viewed that the causes of female criminality were largely due to broken homes and crisis of changing social values.

Rani in her analysis of case histories found that in 33 out of 35 cases were deprived of love from their parents, or husbands and in-laws or combination of both. She has added other factors like incessant illtreatment by the members of their own family, not allowing them to divorce their husbands and various other unhappy critical incidents in their life which had strengthened their frustration and led them to various deviant acts like establishing illicit relation with other persons and aggressive acts like committing murder.

In the Indian cultural set-up females tend to undergo a lot of stress specially during the (post-marital period). Mohan, Vidhu and Singh (1982) reported that crimes like murders are committed under the peak of emotional stress to resolve conflict through extreme and uncontrollable aggression. Their criminal behaviour speaks of their maladjustment. They further discovered that murderers often victimise friends, family members, close relatives or neighbours.

Prasad (1982) highlighted some major areas of female conflicts. These conflicts are due to the following situations:

1. Husbands having bad habits like drinking, gambling, drug addiction, etc.
2. Lack of interest in the family and need for love.
3. Forced marriage.

4. Illicit relations with others or in-laws due to sexual incompatibility or maladjustment with husband.
5. Jealousy due to husbands having illicit relations with other woman.
6. Low income and excessive expenditure.
7. Conflicts over sex.
8. Sexual jealousy and jealousy over property.

Sanyal and Aggarwal (1982) studied a sample of 69 female convicts and found that as many as 73.91 per cent of the sample were having high feeling of insecurity; 81-16 per cent were having negative self-esteem and only 18.84 per cent were having positive self esteem. The results further indicated that inmates with longer stay in prisons revealed lower self-esteem than those who had shorter stay in prison. The negative self esteem was found more in the convicts who belonged to lower socio-economic status than those who belonged to higher status. However, the guilt feeling was restricted to 30-43 per cent only.

Singh and Singh (1979) concluded ^{their} study by saying that premenstruum is the most stressful period for women and about 53 per cent of them committed their crime during this period. This means that hormonal changes in women during the period of premenstrum could cause a crime by them or that women are more liable to be detected for their crimes during this period.

Although premenstrum has its own effects on females, yet, it varies from individual to individual. There is however general feeling that it causes tension, mood-variation, headaches, tiredness and bloatedness. Some Researchers hold the view that premenstruum tension often drives women to war with the world since it is accompanied by irritability, lethargy, depression, water retention etc. These symptoms make women more illtempered, impatient violent and emotionally deranged and may ultimately lead them to crime.

Patel (1974) in one of his article on "Women and Crime" in Eves Weekly of India more or less confirmed these findings. He affirm that some premenstruum symptoms may be responsible for certain type of crimes. For example, irritability and loss off temper may lead to violence and assault, lethargy may lead to child neglect; and depression to suicide.

Various other studies have also highlighted the adverse, effects of premenstrual tensions on women's behaviour. For example, Devi and Rao (1972) found that 60 per cent of the suicide were committed by women in the premenstruum. Singh and Singh (1979) found that 61.6 per cent murders were committed during this period.

Mishra and Gautam (1982) however, worked entirely on a different hypothesis and tried to relate the female criminality to social change. They started with the assumption that the problem of female criminality emanates from the rapid transformation of society from past tradition to modernity. This process of transformation creates a new situation which demands quick and proper adjustment. It calls for reorientation and change of values in individuals in their day-to-day social interaction. But since individuals can not keep pace with these fast changes with their limited means. Hence some gaps or discrepancies are created. These gaps between the two (that is the discrepancies between the cultural goals and the institutional means prescribed by the ^{social} structure to achieve it) creates frustration and aggression among the individuals in critical situations which ultimately lead them to criminal behaviour.

The frustration aggression theory cultivated by psychologists like Freud and later elaborated by others explains some kind of crimes particularly murder committed by women. According to this theory frustration leads to aggression and aggression leads to other defensive reactions. Murder then, according to their analysis, is the manifestation of aggression caused by frustration. The source of frustration lies either in the personality of an individual or in the environment in which that personality operates. The strength of frustration ^{depends on} the strength of

needs or impulse that are thwarted, and as the strength of frustration varies, so does the intensity of the impulse for aggression. Prasad in his study as mentioned above found that all the female offenders were highly frustrated in their marital life and sexual relations.

Context Factors : Background of the Women Criminals

Criminal behaviour or for that reason any behaviour always occurs in a definite context or a background. It does not occur in vacuum. It invariably occurs in a Particular setting or a background. Since these background or contextual factors play a dominant role in shaping and moulding the behaviour of a person, one cannot possibly analyse the criminal behaviour of a person without taking into account the context or background of that person in which he or she is placed.

Various Social Scientists have realised the importance of these background factors and have analysed the criminal behaviour of the women in the light of these factors. For example, Ahuja (1969) analysed the social background of the criminal women and found that the incidence of crime was low in low castes but high in low economic classes. Kawale (1982) supported the findings of

Ahuja with some difference and found it higher in both low social and low economic classes.

Rani (1983) reported that a slightly more than 50% of women criminals belonged to backward caste. She further observed that more than 50% of female criminals were dependents and came from such families whose income was in between Rs.100 to 150 per month, whereas less than 50 percent of them were independent earners and earned even less than Rs.100 p.m.

Prasad (1982) also found that more than 90% of the female criminals came from an income group of Rs.50-200. Thus, it is evident that a majority of the female criminals were from poor families which were living on their meagre income with great difficulty.

Most of the studies including, Ahuja (1969) and Rani (1983) etc. revealed that urban areas, provide more female offenders than rural areas.

Prasad in his study (1982) pointed out that illiterate women are more likely to commit crime as compared to literate women. Mishra and Gautam (1982) also said the same thing. Their study revealed that the female criminality increased as the level of education decreased and it decreased as the level of education increased. Thus there is a high correlation between education and female criminality.

In addition to the socio-economic background, the temporal dimension indicating the age has also been found to be relevant to the crime. The crimes are generally committed at the younger age than at the older age. This means that young persons are more prone to crime than the older persons. This contention finds the support from various studies including the studies of Ahuja (1969), Kawale (1982), Pani (1983), etc. These studies indicated that most of the criminal women were in the age group of 20-40 years.

On the basis of the studies quoted above, it could well be stated that criminality is a function of age and is a problem of young women. Most of these women criminals were married. Nevertheless, they were immature mentally. As a result they could not cope with the expectations of their husbands and in-laws. This resulted in maladjustment between them and their family members and ended up finally with the crime.

Extent : Spread over of crime

Crime is no longer a Prerogative of men or Men's reserve. According to Police reports, although women offenders form a negligible Part of the total criminal Population, their number seems to be definitely growing. It is becoming noticeable that more and more women are

entering the world of crime with different types of crimes (Simon, 1976).

In early days, it was believed that women criminals belonged to tribal groups only where the entire family participated in accomplishing a task and women were obviously involved. But, recently researches have shown that not only tribal women but many women from other sectors are also taking to crime which involve a greater degree of violence (Adler, 1975).

Western Scene : Way back in 1977 a news despatch from London which subsequently appeared in Indian Express dated February 24, 1977, reported that "crime is increasing every year in London and more women are getting in on the act For the first time, burglaries in 1976 exceeded the 100,000 Mark in London with a growing number of women joining men in crime teams." The news despatch further added that in their 'women's lib of the under world' girls and women are acting as decoys or doing the breaking in for burglaries.

Female criminality was also a subject of discussion in the Fifth Nations Congress held at Geneva from September 1-12, 1975. The Congress noticed that "while the Proportion of women in the total criminal population still remains relatively small crimes committed by them are rising faster than those by men."

In the U.S.A., the increase in the arrest rate among females from 1962 to 1972 was three times higher than among males.

In Japan, the number of female offenders increased from 9.8 percent in 1962 to 13.6% in 1972.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Percentage of female offenders increased from 15.4% in 1963 to 17.1% in 1970.

In Canada, the percentage of women offenders charged with indictable offences rose from 7 in 1960 to 14 in 1969.

Norway recorded a sudden spurt in female criminality from 4 percent in 1958 to 10 percent of total crime in 1975.

New Zealand also reported a dramatic increase in female crime rate after 1960.

In these countries the increase in female juvenile delinquency has been sharper than the general female criminality.

In Poland, however, a steady decline was reported. In that country the number of women Prisoners fell from 25.9 percent in 1951 to 11.4 percent in 1972.

The following table would add more to our information.

Table - I

Showing Female arrests per lakh of population
in various countries including India.

S. No.	Country	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
1.	India	6.18	10.34	11.13	9.15	8.32
2.	U.S.A.	987.0	990.1	927.3	916.9	1154.5
3.	West Germany	546.5	558	561	446	N.A.
4.	France	N.A.	110.8	118.2	133.2	138.6
5.	Japan	115.3	110.8	118.2	133.2	138.6
6.	Ireland	55	57	59	67	73
7.	Thailand	400.43	385.40	321.28	321.44	316.65
8.	Scotland	0.40	0.48	0.44	0.45	0.47

Source: International Criminal Statistics.
Uniform Crime Reports (FBI).
Crime in India, 1975.

From the above table it is clear that in India the arrests of female offenders Per lakh of population increased from 6.18 in 1971 to 11.13 in 1973 an increase of 83 percent within two years. Of course, the percentage has slightly gone down to 8.32 in 1975. Similarly in U.S.A. the arrests of female offenders per lakh of Population has gone up from 987 in 1971 to 1154.3 in 1975. This increase of arrest is true not only for India and U.S.A. but is also true for all the countries except Thailand in this period.

Indian Scene :

Looking to the Indian Scene the situation is equally alarming. Taking female arrests under IPC as an Index, one can easily infer that there has been a steep rise in criminality among women. See the tables I and II.

The table I shows that as against 16,303 women arrested under Indian Penal Code in 1971, the number rose to 27891 in 1972 and thereafter it did not stop there and went on rising year after year till 1980 when it rose upto 45,900 almost three times increase over 1971. This trend of increase in female crime is indeed alarmingly progressive and continues to bother us even to day.

But one of the significant feature pointed out by N.K. Sohoni in the illustrated weekly of India (August 25, 1974) is the regional concentration of the female convicts. of all the convicts, as much as 73 percent of them are from Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu.

As regards the juveniles, the number of girls arrested under IPC has gone up from 4,801 in 1968 to 7,228 in 1972. According to the statistical analysis of the central Bureau of correctional Services, "only 12 percent of female convicts were found to be literate, almost 73 percent were married, about 15 percent were unmarried and 12 percent were widows."

Among the total convicts of Girls and women who were admitted to Jails in India 40 Percent of them were in the age group of 21-30 years; 32 percent were in the age group of 30-40 years and only 10 Percent were there in the age group of 16-21 years.

Table - II

Showing female population, absolute number of female criminals and rate of Crime per lakh of female population.

Year	Female Population (in hundred)	No. of female arrests under I.P.C.	Rate of female arrests (per lakh of population)
1971	2,636,340	16,303	6.18
1972	2,695,537	27,891	10.35
1973	2,756,412	30,677	11.13
1974	2,818,996	25,766	9.14
1975	2,883,324	28,743	9.97
1976	2,949,428	24,787	8.40
1977	3,017,342	28,600	9.48
1978	3,087,098	30,478	9.87
1979	3,158,730	31,957	10.12
1980	3,232,269	45,900	14.20
% increase in 10 years	14.2	181.54	129.78

Source: Surat Mishra and J.C. Arora

The above table indicates that while the total female population has increased at the rate of 14.2% only, the rate of their arrests has increased by 130%, thus showing ten fold increase in crime. The following table (III) makes

the point further clear. It indicates the number and nature of crimes in which the women are involved. Most of these crimes are against the person or property.

Table - III

Showing number of women arrested for criminal offences under the I.P.C. (1971-80)

Offences	1971	%	1980	%
Murder	769	4.71	1459	3.17
Culpable Homicide not amounting to murder	59	0.36	65	0.14
Kidnapping and abduction	429	2.63	520	1.13
Dasoity	103	0.63	214	0.47
Robbery	83	0.51	182	0.40
Burglary	972	5.96	1799	3.75
Thefts	4198	25.75	6358	13.85
Riots	2580	15.82	10859	23.66
Fradulent offences	179	1.09	400	0.86
Total cognizable crime	16303	57.46	47258	47.43

Source: Crime in India 1980, Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

From the table-III it is further clear, that there is a definite increase in the number of female arrests made under I.P.C. from 1971 to 1980. In some the increase is double; in others it is three times and in a few cases

it is even four times. Out of the total number of female arrests made in 1971, about 26 percent were arrested for theft, about 16 percent for riots; about 5 percent for murder; about 3 percent for kidnapping and 4 percent for fraud; 0.6 for dacoity; and 0.5 percent for robbery. In 1980 about 24 percent women were arrested for riots and nearly 14 percent for thefts. These figures may not represent the true picture of the crime committed by women but it certainly reflects an increasing trend of female criminality and their involvement in various types of crimes under I.P.C.

Besides women have also been found playing various roles in the process of crime and working as instigators, prompters, supporters, collaborators directly or indirectly. Such involvement may not be actually indicated in the figures on crimes by women. For instance, shop-lifting, Pocket-Picking, theft by domestic servants abortions, through the secret disposal of ^{dead} bodies, black mail by young girls and Prostitutes, illicit sale of liquor by women etc. are rarely reported (Ghosh, 1984).

In addition to the above, there could possibly be a number of other offences committed by women which are beyond the scope of IPC and which are never reported. These offences are generally committed by women, in the role of a wife under the protection of law. For instance, cruelty against husband, Implicating husbands or in-laws by

levelling false charges against them in cases like dowry, neglect of children, playing the role of an accomplice or abettor, conspirator or collaborator etc. depending on the situation. These days, they have also been found smuggling and carrying or receiving illegal things for others.

It is often believed that women tend to commit crimes under the influence of men. But this is also true that men also commit crime under the influence of women and for them. In most cases, the influence of women over men in the crime is of sexual origin. Many women were found operating and cooperating with dacoits in Chambal ravines.

According to the observation of police, there is a woman in every major gang not as a member but as a leader at times. While some were content to serve as mistresses of powerful men of the underworld, many carved out a place for themselves as equals in gang. Some of them also rose to the position of leadership through brutality, brains or beauty. The case of Phoolan Devi could be cited as an example. It is also seen that women have been used as informers by criminals before the act of theft, robbery and dacoity etc. It has also been found that women act as confidence tricksters while working with large sums of money and usually as Partners.

In recent years they have also been found actively participating in terrorist activities as well. These women, according to police reports have close links with extremist groups, and after having received training in the use of arms, they impart training to others and help the terrorists in more than one way (illustrated weekly, 25-31 August, 1985).

Apart from this, the women who are themselves engaged in criminal activities may use their husbands as a cover. They can go to any extent to take revenge. They may even poison their husbands and kill them for that reason. It is very easy for them to do so. Since they are in charge of the kitchen and cook food for them. Thus we see that the range of female crime in India is quite wide; the causes are numerous and the background of the females is poor.

CHAPTER - V

Socio-demographic variables

There are certain socio-demographic variables e.g. Age, Education, Income, Marital status, Family size, etc. that affect the female criminality directly or indirectly, fully or partially. As such it would be worthwhile to discuss these variables and see how far these are responsible for crimes committed by women. But before the discussion of these variables, it would be better to look at the composition of the group selected for the purpose of this study.

Composition of the Group:

The group under study consisting of female convicts had the heterogenous character and included Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. All the females taken together presented a composite picture of Indian women and represented various castes, creeds and communities of Indian Society. In all 36 female convicts were finally selected for the purpose. The pattern of their distribution in terms of Religion, Age, Education, Income, Marital status, Family size, Nature of offence is given below for better understanding.

Table - IV

Religion wise distribution of the sample

Religion		N=36	
	f	%	
1. Hindu	27	75.00	
2. Muslim	4	11.11	
3. Sikh	4	11.11	
4. Christian	1	2.71	
Total	4	36	100.00 approx.

From the above table it is clear, that the number of female criminals are more in Hindus than in other religious group. This however, does not mean that Hindu females are more criminals than others. Perhaps, the incidence of criminals in various groups is proportional to the relative size of these groups in the total population. Otherwise, criminal tendencies are equally present in almost all the religious groups.

Religion vis-a-vis crime had never been the focus of the present study. Because it ^{was} / irrelevant for this study.

But since it had come up in the sample like that it was given as above.

Age:

Age as a temporal dimension has been found to be an important variable in crime. Nettler (1974) reported that one of the most striking and persistent conditions associated with criminality is the young age. Reckless (1971) in the same tone reported that there is a higher incidence of crime in teen-agers. Sinha (1985) showed that the highest incidence of assaultive crimes like homicide is found with young offenders who are either in their late teens or in early thirties.

Rehman and Hussain (1984) demonstrated that the age range for crime is 19-45 years, while Mann in the same year said that 84.2% of criminals were in the age range

of 17-34 years. Singh and Verma (1976) reported that about half of the subjects belonged to 21-30 years of age group. Alfred (1979) found the mean age of criminals to be 30.14 years. Kalm (1971) and Leventhal (1977) found the age range of criminals as 18-50 years.

Crime reports also show that it is mainly the young adults who have committed violent crimes while elder criminals generally commit minor offences.

The age distribution of the present study given in the following table IV more or less corroborate these findings:

Table - V

Age wise distribution of the sample

<u>Age group (years)</u>	<u>N=36</u>	
	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
18 - 25	14	38.88
26 - 34	8	22.22
35 - 43	6	16.66
44 - 53	6	16.66
53 and above	2	5.55
Total	36	100.00 approx.

Criminality seems to be inversely related to age as is clear from the table given above. The largest single group of female criminals consists of these who are in the age group of 18-25 years. This supports the findings of other researchers who claim that criminality and young age go together.

Thus criminality appears to be a function of young age. It increases with the young age and decreases with the old age.

Education:

Education is also considered to be an important variable in determining the crime. It is generally believed that crimes are often committed by illiterates or uneducated persons. Wootan (1960) reported a uniform relationship between poor school record and offenders in all the countries. Palmer (1960) found murderers having low education. Prasad (1981); Mishra and Gautam (1982); Krishna(1982), and Wolf et.al. (1984) stated that majority of female offenders are illiterate or are having education upto primary or secondary level. Mohan and Singh (1977) in a study on education and crime divided the offenders into three educational groups and found that 60% of the murderers belonged to the middle education groups; 25.5% to the high and 17.5% to the low education groups.

All these findings indicate an inverse relationship between education and female criminality. The present study also says more or less the same thing as is shown in the table - VI :

Table - VI

Education wise distribution of the sample

N=36		
Education Groups	f	%
Illiterate	28	77.77
Literate upto Primary	2	5.55
Literate upto Middle	3	8.33
Literate upto Secondary	3	8.33
Total	4	36
		100.00 approx.

Education appears to be inversely related to crime as is shown in the table VI given above. Even if all the literacy groups are combined together, they won't match with the illiteracy group and give different results than what it has already given and neutralise the effect of illiteracy on crime. The earlier findings of the researches get corroborated by the present study.

Education and crime go hand in hand and criminality appears to be a function of illiteracy or low education. The probability of criminality is more with illiteracy than with the literacy of a high order. The uneducated females are more likely to commit crime than the highly educated females. Criminality seems to increase with illiteracy and decrease with literacy.

Residential background

Another variable that plays an important role in crime is residential background. Johnson (1966) reported that crime and delinquency rates are higher in urban areas than in rural areas. Mohammad (1983) found that crime rate was high in slum areas. On the other hand, Sutherland and Cressey (1966) found that incidence of homicide was slightly higher in rural areas in comparison to urban areas.

Studies conducted by Sharma (1976); Singh (1976); Mohan and Singh (1980); Gill (1982,83) have shown that the rates of major crimes are higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas. What the present study has to say about it will be clear from the following table-VII.

Table-VII

Residence wise distribution of the sample
N=36

<u>Background</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Rural	20	55.55
Urban	16	44.44
Total	36	100.00 approx.

The female criminality is hardly related to any specific background rural or urban. Atleast the table given above does not indicate anything specific about it. Although the number of female criminals coming from rural areas are slightly more than the criminals coming from urban areas. But the difference between the two is so marginal that nothing definite could be said about it.

Moreover, the difference could also be attributed to better policing in urban areas. So the criminality is held in abeyance there. Otherwise the tendency of the people and rate of criminality is almost the same in both the areas.

Since the urban areas are better policed, it would mean that criminality among women has an urban bias and not a rural leaning as may be evident ^{from} above. Hence the rural bias for criminality is hardly tenable.

Marital Status:

Some researchers in India and abroad have tried to explore the linkage between marital status and offence. For example, Wolfgang (1967); Somasundaram (1970), Martin and Wolfe et.al.(1984) (1979) Hindelong et.al.(1978) observed that there is little likelihood of married and widowed women indulging in crime as compared to unmarried and separated women. But the present study does not seem to be supporting this finding and holds altogether a different view as is evident from the following table VIII:

Table - VIII
Distribution in terms of Marital Status

N=36		
Status	f	%
Married	28	77.77
Unmarried	7	19.44
Divorced	1	2.77
Widowed	Nil	Nil
Total	4	36
		100.00 approx.

From the table, it is clear that the incidence of crime is highest among the married women and lowest among the divorced women. There was hardly any widow in the sample but there were 7 (19.44%) unmarried women who committed crime.

In view of the data given above marriage appears to be an important factor determining criminality among Indian women.

Married women (given the present status and role) are more likely to commit crime as compared to unmarried and divorced women. This contradicts the earlier findings and holds marriage as a responsible factors in generating a situation of crime.

Income:

Low income, poor economic condition and poverty above all has been considered to be a very powerful factor in determining the genesis of crime not only in males but also in females. The Indian and western scholars e.g. Verma (1956); Dhillon (1965); Goyal (1968); Kalm (1971); Kaldatta (1978); Shukla (1979); Phillips and Votly (1981) studied the association of economic hardship with crime and came to the same conclusion.

Sinha (1980) concluded that crime is related to poverty alone. Khan (1981) inferred that most of the offenders who were committed to jail, came from lower socio-economic status.

Rani (1982) reported that in the state of A.P. women who belonged to low income group indulged more in crime. Very recently Krishna and Trivedi (1985) reported that females having an income of around Rs.900 p.m. were more commonly involved in crime.

But does poverty alone cause a crime in females?
triggering
Perhaps, some other / situations are necessary to cause and complete the crime. What the present study has to say in this connection, would be clear from the table IX given below:

Table - IX
Income distribution of the sample

N=36		
Income Groups (Rs)	f	%
500-999 (L)	13	36.11
1000-1999 (M)	17	47.22
2000 and above (H)	6	16.66
Total	36	100.00 approx.

L=Low; M=Middle; H=High Income Group

It is quite surprising to find that the results given in the above table are contrary to the general belief (arisen out of earlier findings) that low income is inversely related to criminality. The middle income group dominates in the sample of this study with 47.22%. If the middle and high income groups are aggregated to

constitute the 'Upper Income Group' then the richer women seem to display a higher incidence of criminality which goes against the often repeated myth.

But if we look at the per capita income (calculated on the basis of Net National Product at current prices) which is Rs.2974.20 per person per year for the year 1986-87 and Rs.3284.20 per person per year for the year 1987-88, the picture gets reversed and brings us back to square one.

Though the middle income group according to the present study has been found to contributing more to the female criminality, yet the fact remains that lower income group plays no less role in as much as 36.11% of the female convicts still come from the lower income group.

Poverty though tells very much upon criminality but to say that poverty alone causes criminality among females would be an erroneous conclusion.
(Source: Government of India, Economic Survey, 1988-89, PS-3).

Family size:

There is a general feeling or belief that family size is positively related to criminality. These who hold this belief argue that large family requires more resources to sustain itself. Since the resources of the country like India are so limited and unevenly distributed that the large families get a very little share of it. With the poor resource, it becomes very difficult for the large size families to maintain themselves. Under these critical

situations the members of large sized family are likely to find out some easy means to fulfil their needs and are likely to develop criminal tendencies. But all these arguments do not appear to be based on sound footing as is evident from the table X give below:

Table - X

Distribution in terms of family size

N=36		
Family size in terms of number of members	f	%
5 and below (S)	6	16.66
6-9 (M)	18	50.00
10-14 (L)	10	27.77
15 and above (VL)	2	5.77
Total	36	100.00 approx.

S=Small; M=Medium; L=Large; VL=Very Large

It is quite interesting to note that here again, the results of the present study appear to contradict the general belief that large family size is having a positive correlation with criminality. Quite contrary to the myth, the data of the present study suggest that the incidence of criminality is higher in the small and medium sized families as compared to the large and very large families. This further goes to show that a larger family has greater harmony and sobering effect on the members of the family as compared to the small and medium size family and is less likely to generate criminal tendencies in its members.

This seen alongwith the findings obtained on the variable of income data mutually reinforces the contention particular level of that poverty and family size are not so much related with criminility as is alleged. But the myth still holds good as 33.54% of the female convicts ^{come} from large and very large families. As such the size of the family definitely has got something to do with the criminality.

Nature of Crime:

Crime is no longer a prerogative of men. According to police reports, although women offenders form a negligible part of the total criminal population, their number seems to be definitely increasing. It is becoming noticeable that more and more women are entering the world of crime with different types of crime.

Statistics on the nature of crimes committed by women in India show varied involvement of women in criminal activities. Women are involved in almost all the major crime heads under IPC (Crime in India, 1980). According to the present study women, like men have been found to involve in a variety of crimes. The nature of the crimes committed by them are listed in the table XI given below:

Table - XI

Distribution of crime

		N=36			
Nature of Crime		f	%	f	%
Immoral Trafficking	(M)	3	8.33		
Vagrancy		1	2.77	6	16.66
Theft		2	5.55		
Abetment to Suicide	(S)	1	2.77		
Drug Trafficking		2	5.55	4	11.11
Dacoity		1	2.77		
Murder	(VS)	18	50.00		
Child Sacrifice		2	5.55		
Bride Burning		5	13.88	26	72.22
Infanticide		1	2.77		

M-Mild & Petty Crime; S-Serious Crime; VS-Very Serious Crime

The table given above shows that there is a clear cut polarisation towards very serious crimes. Most of the crimes committed by women under study involved victims. As many as 26 (72.22%) out of a total of 36 committed murder that is crime against life or person. Although this figure included 5 bride burning cases; 2 cases of child sacrifice and 1 case of infanticide. But all these cases taken together constituted murder.

Though it is very difficult to predict or forecast on the basis of poor data. But the way the frustration is increasing in women on account of deprivations, misunderstanding and inhuman treatment, it reflects a trend more in favour of homicides.

The myth that women generally commit minor offences like shop lifting, theft, pick pocketing, etc. is broken.

Legal Aid:

The trial of the female convicts went on in the courts for months together. But no legal aid was provided to them during the pendency of their trial. As a result, they had to engage their own private counsels and suffer financially.

Treatment in Police Custody:

The treatment meted out to some of these females in police custody was also a problem to which they have strongly reacted. The table XII given below would highlight the magnitude of the problem and make the situation clear.

Table - XII

Distribution in terms of treatment in police custody

Treatment	N-36	
	f	%
Good	11	30.55
Bad	12	33.33
So So	13	36.11

The above table shows that the treatment given to the females during the police custody was good in respect

of 30.55% cases; So So in respect of 36.11% cases and bad in respect of 33.33% cases. The treatment given to 1/3 of the sample was harsh and cruel. They were abused and mercilessly beaten. One of the female convicts informed that she had to abort her child on account of beating.

Treatment and Conditions in jail:

The treatment in jail was comparatively better and conditions there were found to be more ^{or} less satisfactory except the following:

1. Food was not good
2. Medical facilities generally were not available particularly to those female prisoners who were having small children. Proper diet, milk and medicines were not at all available to their children.
3. There was a communication gap between the inmates and jail officials, as a result the prisoner could not highlight their problems. Even if they got a chance to put forward their grievances the jail authorities would neither listen nor care to solve the problems.
4. They are not given jobs according to their interests and aptitudes. Probably the number of jobs, trades, vocations etc. are limited.

CHAPTER - VI

Methodology

Case Study Method

The present study employed 'Case Study Method' as its method of enquiry. As this was the only method through which complete information about an individual could be obtained. Individual's inner strivings, his way of life, the motives that drive him to action, the barriers that frustrate him or stimulate him or challenge him and the creative intelligence which achieves for him and directs him to adopt a certain behaviour pattern within a given social setting, could better be revealed through this method only. Since the present inquiry needed all such informations about the female convicts the case study method was preferred.

It was well directed and well guided life history method which covered almost the entire gamut of criminal's life right from beginning till their entry into jail and life there after.

Sample

Since the study was confined to only female criminals, so only those females who were convicted were included in the sample. As many as 40 cases of female convicts were picked up for study, of which only 36 were retained in the final sample. Rest 4, were dropped on

account of incomplete information. The final sample represented various castes, creed and communities of Indian Society as stated earlier.

Sampling Design

It was a single group study as against double group strategy initially planned with a design of control and experimental group. But in view of financial constraints, the two group strategy had to be dropped.

In view of the number of convicted females which was quite limited, the sampling design had to be kept purposive, so as to include all the female convicts that were available in jail at that point of time.

Data Collection - Source:

The information about these females was gathered from two jails of Northern India, namely:

1. Central Jail, Tihar, Delhi; and
2. Borstal Jail, Hissar (Haryana).

As many as 13 female convicts were from Tihar Jail and 23 were from Borstal Jail, Hissar.

Instrumentation

The data was collected with the help of two types of instruments, namely;

1. Interview Schedule, and
2. RorSchach's Inkblots test.

Interview Schedule

Composition: The interview schedule had 7 parts and 121 items including 23 items on socio-demographic variables. Each part represented a particular phase or stage of life and had its own items. Say for instance part I represented childhood and had 10 items; part II stood for schooling and consisted ^{of} 11 items; part III spoke for adjustment with in-laws and contained 14 items; part IV represented adjustment particularly with husband and had 21 items; part V was devoted to the genesis of crime and was comprised of 16 items; part VI was earmarked for psycho-physical ailments developed on account of conviction and contained 17 items; and part VII spoke for treatment received during police custody and jail and had 9 items. In addition to these, there were 23 items more which covered entire socio-economic status of the female convicts including other background factors required for the purpose.

Items of the interview schedule were kept open-ended, so as to leave enough scope for probing and add as much information as possible.

After preparing the items, the interview schedule as a whole was discussed with the group of experts and got finalised.

RorSchach's Test

Composition: This test, as developed by a swiss psychiatrist Herman Rorschach in 1942, is based on projective technique and consists of 10 cards printed bilaterally with symmetrical inkblots. Five of the blots are executed in shades of grey and black only; two contain additional touches of bright red and the remaining three are a combination of several shades. The test is widely used all over the world and is considered to be reliable and valid.

Rationale for administering the test

This test is generally used to know the inner psychological functioning of an individual's mind. For it is strongly presumed that the way, the individual perceives and interprets the test material i.e. the structures or the situations, it reflects various things of his or her mental life. It is very effective especially in revealing the latent, unconscious content of mind.

During the testing, all that is stored up in unconscious gets spilled over into conscious and the respondents without any inhibition project their characteristic thought processes, needs, anxieties, conflicts, etc. etc.

Thus, this test covers a wide range and highlights not only the emotional, motivational and inter-personal

aspects but also the intellectual aspect of human personality.

Since the study was interested in having all such informations to better understand the female criminals, it was thought proper to use this test.

Test Administration

The Rorschach test is a complex test as compared to other psychological tests. Hence it needs extra care, attention, practice not only in its administration, but also in its analysis and interpretation.

Before starting the test, first the subject is taken into confidence, cordial admosphere is created and a rapport is established between the subject and the experimenter. After ensuring all these preliminaries, the subject is shown each inkblot card one by one serially and is asked to tell what the blot could represent. The experimenter keeps a verbatim record of the responses, notes the time of the responses, position in which cards are held, spontaneous remarks, emotional expressions and other incidental behaviour of the subject during the testing session.

Following the presentation of all 10 cards, the experimenter then questions the subject systematically regarding the parts and aspects of each blot to which the associations were given. This is what is called inquiry phase. During the enquiry the subjects can clarify and

elaborate their earlier responses.

The instructions of Rorschach were strictly followed as prescribed for the purpose and the whole testing was done in jail in a room allotted for the purpose. Rorschach testing was followed by interview in the same atmosphere of cordiality with a slight pause in between.

Analysis and Interpretation

Scoring of the Rorschach data was done by investigators but so far as its analysis was concerned help was sought from expert to avoid misinterpretation and error in judgement.

The data brought by interview schedule was qualitatively analysed and interpreted in the context of background and situational factors. As many as 36 case studies were prepared to show the results.

The female criminality was interpreted in the light of the results of both these instruments put together.

CHAPTER - VII

Results

The results of the study have been presented in the following forms:

- a) Firstly in the form of cases prepared on the basis of responses obtained through interview schedule and
- b) Secondly in the form of profiles based on the responses of Rorschach Test.

The results have been analysed and interpreted by putting them together. The comments have been given in the last, after each profile. These comments have no bias and carry an objective analysis as far as possible.

CASE : DT-1

Shiela, a 35 year old Christian woman, belonged to an urban background. Having studied upto middle standard, she married and ran a pan shop which brought in an income of about Rs.1000/- p.m. The total monthly income of her father's nuclear family consisting of four, was Rs.1000/- per month approximately. The discipline in the family was reported to be moderate.

Shiela was charged with drug trafficking and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment on the 13th July, 1988. Unfortunately, no legal aid was provided to her during the long trial that lasted over one year and eight months. The police misbehaved and abused while she was in their custody.

Shiela's childhood was uneventful and she grew up with affectionate parents and relatives. Being her mother's 'darling' she was never beaten or illtreated and there were no instances of any quarrel with her siblings. However, her parents did quarrel with each other at times. But they never discriminated her for being a girl.

Shiela started her schooling at the age of nine. She liked attending her classes as her teachers were kind and considerate to her. At school, her teachers did help her with her work at times. But they hardly encouraged her to study, perhaps leading to her disinterest and

subsequent dropping out of school in the 8th class.

At the age of 19 she was married and soon moved in with her in-laws. Having no specific choice for a life partner, the marriage was an arranged one. No dowry was reported to have been given or demanded in this case. Life in the new family was peaceful, secure and happy devoid of quarrels or tensions between her and in-laws.

Shiela's husband was blind yet he was a nice fellow. He was educated upto middle standard and had no bad habit. He was kind and considerate to her. Both had mutual affection for each other and were satisfied with their married life.

Shiela's version of the events that led to her arrest was that she was picked up by the police while returning home with her niece. The police seemed to have stopped the three wheeler on which they were travelling and arrested her on the charge that she was in possession of 10.8 Kg. of 'SMACK'. In her statement (which tallied with that of the three wheeler driver) She asserted that nothing was found on the vehicle and that she was innocent and falsely implicated in a crime which she had not committed. After her arrest both her in-laws, as well as her parents made no attempt at helping her to be released on bail. However, her brother did help out in engaging an advocate to plead her case.

Convinced that she was innocent Shiela was neither willing to repent nor did she feel alienated from society. Though Shiela did not show any signs of physical ailments, she was rather anxious about her husband and young children and suffered from intermittent bouts of insomnia.

This incidence occurred in the month of November. She did not remember about the exact date of her menses. Perhaps, she had it before the incidence. She did not believe in God. However, she cursed herself for her bad luck and remarked that if she were to born again, she would lead a different kind of life.

According to Shiela the time spent in police custody was marked by their misbehaviour and abusiveness. What was perhaps mysterious was her allegation that the police kept her in isolation and she was not allowed to meet anybody during her detention. In contrast, Shiela was more positive in her attitudes regarding the Jail officials and arrangements for the prisoners, though she felt that at times these officials thrived on flattery and sycophancy.

PROFILE : DT-1

In her intellectual processes the subject's reality testing was pathologically inadequate. She had a poor concentration. There was an intellectual stereotypy which showed an inability in her to shift. Her perceptions showed her indifference to reality. She carried out the same response throughout the test. But at times she shifted unpredictably to select the new element from her visual field. She failed to perceive the most common response in Fig.V. Due to her inflexibility in thinking she carried out the same percept without considering its form and quality. She failed to reflect her ability to participate in the social group. Emotionally she showed a totally blunt affect. She had no depth and breadth of her affective state. In her data she showed inadequate reality testing, idiosyncratic thought content, incapability of participating in social objectives, limited quantity of energies, incapability of initiating any meaningful activity. She reflected a Schizophrenic picture.

Comments

Marriage with a blind person and meagre resources at hand, might have confused and disturbed Shiela's mind and finally developed a sense of insecurity in her. In order to overcome the feeling of insecurity, she might

have been tempted to drug trafficking which led her to jail. Her Rorschach data spoke something more about her personality. But the trend was more or less the same.

With totally blunt affect and Schizoid Personality Constitution, Loss of Sleep, Pathologically inadequate reality testing, poor intellectual capacity, disturbed thinking etc. indicated her simple Schizophrenic reaction. A simple Schizophrenic is unlikely to commit crime. Perhaps, she might have developed her ailment after she was arrested as a reaction to her conviction.

CASE : DT-2

Thirty five years old Shanti Devi with an urban background was an uneducated and unemployed housewife. She was a Hindu Rajput (Sansi by birth) and the mother of six children.

Shanti Devi's husband was a general merchant and headed the family. The household reportedly sustained itself on a meagre monthly income of Rs.400/- to Rs.500/-.

Shanti was arrested by the police on the charge of being in possession of alchohol. She was not given any legal Aid. Though her husband got her released on bail, Shanti arranged her own private advocate to plead her case. After a trial that lasted four years Shanti was finally convicted and sentenced to 3 months imprisonment and a fine of Rs.500/-. She was confined to jail on 12th July, 1988.

Having lost her parents at an early age. Shanti seemed to have had a difficult childhood and had to take care of her younger brother, the only other surviving member of the family.

She was married at the early age of 14. The marriage was arranged by her uncle and she reported that no dowry was given or demanded on the occasion.

Like Shanti her husband too was the only surviving member of his family, having lost his parents at an early age.

Though short tempered a bit he had been a loving husband, caring and providing Shanti with whatever he could. There were no instances of him having misbehaved or illtreated her in any way, and their married life was marked by mutual affection. Shanti was emphatic regarding the fact that her husband had no bad habits or for that matter any pre or post marital relationships.

The first 8 years of her married life were spent with a certain amount of anxiety as she was unable to conceive any child. Her husband was also worried about that, perhaps not fully realising that Shanti was only 14 years old when he married her.

Shanti did not confess her crime, since the charge levelled against her was reported to be false. She narrated the incident that four years ago, she went to Patel Nagar to consult one of her mother's friend who used to give medicine to those who could not conceive. When she returned home, police came and arrested her under the false charge. Since she was sansi by caste, the police seemed to be having a bias against her community.

She did not repent for the crime which she had not committed. However, she remarked that if she were to born again, she would like to lead a different kind of life where there would be no poverty. She believed in God and cursed her fate for all that had happened.

She was suffering from loss of appetite, loss of sleep, headache, bodyache. She was also worried about her future and her small child who was with her in jail. He was not cared for medically. He was not given milk, food, etc. He frequently therefore, fell ill.

She was arrested in the month of June. She did not exactly remember about her menses.

Police behaved well while she was in their custody. Jail authorities too were all right. However, she was not satisfied with the arrangement in jail as the food was not good and her small child did not get proper diet and medicine there.

PROFILE : DT-2

Although the subject had shown marginal productivity but her approach and sequence took a very irregular shape. She fixed herself in a psychological quicksand with a preoccupation with somatic concern. She depicted a totally disintegrated thinking pattern. This showed her inefficient use of the intelligence as she synthesized inadequately her probable ability. Her attention was selective. Though initially she restricted herself to body parts but suddenly she came out with a high relief when she perceived a place of urination but soon after withdrew herself again by shifting to body parts. In view of the data on all the cards, she failed to pick up the popular percepts and proved herself asocial to the social environment. She didn't use her intellectual potentials at all. She showed a totally pathological ego. On one card she reacted emotionally but later showed no concern.

Keeping in view her total personality she showed a totally fragile picture C marked with thought disturbance of psychotic type.

Comments

Twin deprivation of parental affection during childhood and deprivation of need for a child during married life together with acute poverty can make any woman abnormal or criminal. Shanti was no exception.

Losing the parents at an early age; subsequently not conceiving any child for a period of 8 years; and not having sufficient means even to fulfil bare minimum needs; made Shanti a psychological case.

Reported loss of appetite, sleep accompanied with pains in the body and head tend to support the Rorschach results that she suffered from psychotic illness with thought disorders being prominent. Her inadequate intellectual functioning could be due to her psychotic state of mind. Her husband might have taken advantage of her illness and got her booked instead of his own crime.

CASE : DT-4

Shanti, a 26 years old Muslim woman coming from a rural background, was an uneducated and unemployed housewife. Her husband was a rikshawpuller and her father was a labourer. The total income of her family consisting of nine members was Rs500/- p.m. The family was reported to be well disciplined and there was no past history of crime amongst its members.

Shanti was arrested for stealing. No body helped her while she was in the police custody nor was any legal aid provided to her. The trial in the court went on for six months and she was finally convicted and confined to Jail on 7th September, 1987, for a period of 8 months.

She did not have a happy childhood. She had chickenpox when she was ^a small girl. Though her parents and relatives were affectionate and well behaved, she was at times punished when she quarrelled with siblings. These quarrels were often on account of taking each other's things. Her parent's mutual understanding was moderate. However, they quarrelled at times. Her elder brother loved her most. Although her parents never discriminated her for against being a girl yet, her grandmother sometimes used to behave discriminately with her and preferred boys.

She was married at the age of 12 and went to live with her in-laws two years after her marriage. Her

parents neither gave her any dowry nor did her in-laws demand any. It was an arranged marriage.

Only one sister-in-law and her mother-in-law stayed with her at her husband's place. The sister-in-law was already married. Her mother-in-law was very old. Her husband treated her well and loved her. Though poor he provided her reasonable comforts and acted as a moderater between her and her mother-in-law whenever they quarrelled. He was uneducated but gentle. He never had any pre or post marital relationship. He did not usually drink or gamble. If he had a drink, it was only at some party.

Shanti insisted that she was wrongly convicted. According to her, her husband's nephew who was a scooter driver had a quarrel with a passenger who complained to the police that she had snatched away his gold chain alongwith her husband and nephew. She was then arrested. Nobody helped them to get bail.

If she were to re-born she would wish to be but in comfort.

She was not suffering from any physical ailment. However, she was worried about her husband and children.

This incidence occured in the month of November and she had already menstruated by that time. Though she cursed her fate, she believed that whatever ^{had} happened was the will of God.

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Although Shanti was spared, the wrath of the police was mainly directed against her husband and nephew who were constantly beaten while in police custody. The jail authorities treated her well and did not create any problem for her. But her child being small faced problems.

PROFILE : DT-4

The subject showed marginal productivity. Her approach was D1 dominating at the expense of W. The percepts seen by the subject centered around anatomical responses which reflected feeble mindedness of the subject. According to some experts, preoccupation with somatic concern also reflect the hypochondriasis and ego extension. But according to Rorschach and Zulliger these responses usually occur in feeble minded epileptic patients with deterioration. Intellectually, the subject showed incapacities for testing reality. Barring one popular response she didn't perceive any other responses which reflected her incapability to abide by the social conventional norms. Subjects' emotional state was one of impulsivity and irritability. Her restraints over the process was unsuccessful and the infantile discharge was stronger. Her actual emotional sensitivity to external objects was found very much reduced. In other words, emotionally she was primitively unchecked.

Comments

A labourer's daughter and Rickshaw Puller's wife, Shanti had a difficult childhood and even more deplorable married life. Poor as he was, Shanti's husband could hardly provide her even the basic necessities of life. In such a situation an urge for better living is bound

to appear. Under the spell of an intense desire for having a better standard of life, there is no wonder that Shanti might have slipped into this crime. The facts of her case fit in well with the Rorschach data on her personality.

Intellectually she was below average and emotionally, she lacked checks and controls. She was impulsive and did not abide by social norms.

CASE : DT-5

Rehana a 22 years old Muslim woman belonged to an urban background. Having studied upto middle standard and employed in a factory, she was married to a Carpenter. The household sustained itself on the meagre income from a welding shop owned by her father. The total income of her family consisting of 9 members was Rs.1000/- p.m.

Rehana was charged with decoity alongwith her two brothers and sentenced to jail for 4 years on October 4, 1987. The trial went on for one year and ten months but no legal aid was provided to her. She had to arrange an advocate to plead her case.

Rehana passed off her childhood smoothly. She had chicken pox when she was very small. After that she was mentally upset for sometime. Her parents treated her well and her relations with other family members were also very good. She was sometimes beaten whenever there was a quarrel but her parents never discriminated against her for being a girl. The mutual relationship of her parents was moderate. However, they did quarrel with each other now and then.

Rehana started going to the school at the age of four. She liked going to the school but could not sustain her interest in studies. She was an average student.

Though her teachers were well behaved. They never encouraged her. She left her studies in 8th class. No specific incident of interest occurred when she was in the school.

She got married at the age of 16 and came to stay with her in-laws soon after. Her parents did not give her much dowry except a few necessary things nor did her in-laws make any demand. She married with her own will. From the very beginning she stayed apart with her husband because he did not have a healthy relationship with other members of his family.

Her husband's behaviour with her was nice. Both of them had a mutual consent for this marriage. They liked and loved each other after the marriage and were satisfied. Her husband provided all the necessities of life that he could. He did not have any pre or post marital relationship. She was never worried on this score. He always listened to her and favoured her whenever there was a quarrel. He studied upto matric. He never abused her nor misbehaved with her. He did not have any bad habits. He used to come home in time. She was quite satisfied with her married life.

Rehana did not confess her crime for which she was convicted. According to her, she had a quarrel with their employer. Her younger brother used to work in a house. His employer behaved miserly. He

did not pay him his dues, when she and her brother went to his residence to ask for it. The employer refused. A quarrel took place. During the altercation the old man, who was the employer fell down and was bruised. After 10 days that old man charged them with dacoity. The police came and arrested them. She explained that she had delivered a child just a month before the incident and was not in a condition to fight or quarrel. But no body listened to her. Her husband tried to get her released on bail but it was not granted. If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead a comfortable life devoid of poverty.

She was not suffering from any physical ailment. But she was worried about her child and husband. As a result she could not sleep properly.

The incident took place in the month of September. She was in the post delivery period then. She believed in God and didnot blame Him for her problems.

The police treated her moderately when she was in their custody. Her child was very small and so everybody helped her. The jail authorities also behaved nicely. But the food provided in jail was not good and the jail arrangements were also not upto the mark. The jail authorities expected flattery and gave credence to rumours. They were Gullible and Credulous. She wanted that women with very small children to be treated properly. The welfare officer should show special concern for such women.

PROFILE : DT-5

This subject showed poor productivity. Her approach was dominating and the sequence was irregular. Intellectually she was incapable of testing reality (F + 33%). Her intelligence was below average (Hd responses). The ^{subject} / showed more somatic concerns which further substantiated her intellectual potentials. She failed to identify even a single popular percept C which showed inability to conform to social conventional norms. Emotionally she reacted to colorful cards but at the same time she rejected card IX which showed reduced emotional sensitivity. Since she had no fantasy process (M) at her disposal, she could not stabilize her affectivity by introverting it, nor had she put herself at the mercy of her emotions. She least recognized the common objects which also showed her inability to adapt to perception.

Comment

Poor background, low calibre and physical weakness caused on account of delivery could not prevent Rehana to indulge in rioting which allowed one to infer that she was impulsive, irreality oriented and emotionally instable. Her personality profile based on Rorschach

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data suggested that she had below normal intelligence. She did not conform to social norms. She could be dictated by her emotions. Her emotional sensitivity was low. She might have indulged in the crime which she did not confess fully.

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CASE : DT-6

Ram Pyari a 50 years old Ahir woman belonged to a rural background and was uneducated. She was married to a labourer who was working in a Mill. Her father was a Subedar and mother a housewife. The total income of her family was approximately Rs.1000/- p.m. Her family consisted of 8 persons. She was fifth in order of birth. Discipline in the family was moderate.

She was convicted for murder. The police misbehaved with her and manhandled her. No one from among her relatives helped her during the time she was in police custody. The case was in the court for 2½ years and she was convicted on 9-5-1988 and was sent to jail for 20 years.

She did not remember any specific incident that occurred during her childhood. Her parents behaved nicely with her when she was a child. She had good relations with all the family members. Sometimes she quarrelled with her brothers and sisters over small matters like snatching one another's things or toys. Her parents did not have a smooth and healthy mutual relationship. They quarrelled with each other. Her mother loved her most. She was never maltreated for being a girl.

She was married at the age of 12 and moved in with her in-laws after four years. Her parents gave dowry items like a watch, a cycle, silver utensils, one cow, etc. There was however, no demand for cash. It was an arranged marriage and at that time she did not have any liking for any specific man.

Her father-in-law behaved nicely with her. She had a step mother-in-law who used to trouble her. Her three brothers-in-law (particularly the younger brother-in-law) also troubled her. She quarrelled with her mother-in-law but ignored her brothers-in-law whenever they argued with her. Her husband was a little abnormal from the very beginning. After living for 13 years in in-law's house, she came to the city for her her/husband's treatment. After that she did not go back to her in-law's place and stayed with her parents. Her parents brought up her children.

Her husband used to beat and abuse her most of the time. But she tolerated it as he was initially not a badman. He beat her out of anger or bad temper. She accepted him after the marriage and both loved each other. Of course he could not provide her many other facilities but tried to provide her the basic necessities of life. He had no pre or post marital relationship. Her husband was very much dominated by his mother although she was his step mother. He always obeyed her and would listen to her whenever there was a quarrel

between his wife and his mother. He had done his matriculation. He was not a habitual drinker though he used to drink sometimes. He used to come home in time. She liked to stay in a joint family. She was not much satisfied with her married life because her husband did not help her.

She was convicted for murdering a boy. Her eldest son and son-in-law were also convicted. The three of them were convicted for murder and sentenced to jail for 20 years. She lived with her abnormal husband and children and it so happened that a boy was found dead in a well quite away from her house. The well from which the body was recovered was located in another village. She said she belonged to a traditional family and did not like to do mean things. One of the eyewitnesses alleged that she, her son and son-in-law killed that boy and threw him in the well around 8.00 p.m. It was alleged that the boy (victim) wanted to meet her daughter and used to pursue her. The witnesses argued that because of jealousy and anger they might have killed that boy. According to her they were not in that village at the time of murder and her children were also with her. Her son-in-law also belonged to a different village and was never present at the place. The Pradhan of the village and Ram Pyari were not on good terms as once

she was young and her husband was abnormal, the pradhan made passes at her and visited her house in a drunken state. Since she was well built and healthy, so she gave him a sound thrashing. Once when her husband's uncle stopped her in the way she rebuked him and beat him up. Because of these factors that they framed charges against her.

She said that she believed in God and whatever He did, had to be accepted. She did not talk to her in-laws and they did not help her after the crime. As her parents were dead, her brothers tried to get her released on bail. She insisted that the charges were false and that she was quite far away from the place where the crime was committed. She further reiterated that the conviction and punishment given were not just. She never felt segregated and cut off from society. She did not commit this crime as a revolt against society not did she feel remorseful. If she were to re-born as a woman she would like to lead a different kind of life because she was not happy with her husband.

She was suffering from backache and was short sighted. She had body aches earlier also. She was worried about her children and her husband. She was worried about her children because her husband provided

nothing for them. She had headaches which she never had earlier. She did not have loss of sleep.

The crime was committed during winter. She had already achieved the age of menopause at the time of crime. She was highly religious and cursed her fate for the crime. The police abused her and behaved badly. They were however, not very cruel. Treatment in jail was alright. She did not face any problem in jail except the medical checkup which was not done in jail by the doctor regularly. The food was not good. She did have some privacy in jail.

PROFILE : DT-6

The subject showed marginal productivity but her associational ability was limited. She perceived the parts more frequently than the whole percept. Her abstract intelligence was repressed by practical intelligence. She failed to organize the response and left the percepts in parts. Moreover in inquiry too it could not be ascertained that the parts are of animal or human. Intellectually, she failed to test the reality situations. Moreover the conventionality with her special group was also found poor. In one of the card she showed the dependency traits. Apart from that she gave a totally disorganized picture, and showed her inadequacy for organizing and giving meaning to a particular percept. Intellectually she seemed to be below average. As such there was no loading to either side of EB. Thus she showed incapability of having fantasy and relating her emotions to others. There was no length and breadth found in her affective state.

Comments

An abnormal husband and ill-treatment from him as well as from her step mother-in-law; total dissatisfaction from her marital life; and voluptuous sexual advances by the village pradhan and her

uncle-in-law developed in Ram Pyari the hostile and anti-social tendencies and made her ready to react against the society at the slightest provocation. She perhaps, could not control herself when the same type of sexual advances were made by a boy in her village against her daughter, she seemed to be taking a symbolic revenge from the society when she conspired to kill that boy who had an eye on her daughter and was after her.

Ram Pyari's Rorschach analysis corroborated the same and fitted well with her case. According to Rorschach analysis she was found below average in intelligence and lacking in conventionality and emotionality. She was considered to be anti-social and was supposed to be having a pathological personality.

CASE : DT-7

Shanti a 21 years old Hindu (Rajput) woman, belonged to a rural background. She was uneducated and worked as a cattle grazer. She was married to a labourer. The total income of her family was approximately Rs.500/- p.m. There were 8 members in her family. She was the fifth child of her parents. Her mother was but father was no more. surviving at the time of interview / However, the family was well disciplined.

Shanti was convicted for murdering the landlord of a house in which her husband had gone to seek employment. Her father-in-law helped her while she was in jail. The police did not treat her badly. She and her husband arranged a private advocate. The case went on in the court for two years. She was convicted for the offence and was sent to jail for 20 years.

Shanti spent a happy and uneventful childhood, though her father died when she was only seven. She was well cared for by her mother and brother and was never discriminated against for being a girl and spent her childhood in a normal, affectionate atmosphere.

She got married at the age of 12 years and came to her in-laws house after one year. Her mother did not give her much dowry. Only a few necessary things were given. Her in-laws also never demanded any dowry. She

got married with a man her family chose, as she did not have any specific person in view. All the members in her in-laws family behaved very well. Her mother-in-law loved her and all other members respected her. She never quarrelled with them. She felt secure while living at her in-law's house.

Shanti was happily married and got along well with her husband. He was caring and considerate, providing her with whatever he could afford out of his meagre income. Soft spoken, and well behaved, Shanti's husband was educated upto the 8th class and was not reported as having harboured any bad habits, or any pre or post marital attachments. Though respected and secure in the husband's family, Shanti preferred to stay separately with her husband.

She did not admit her guilt. According to her somebody allured her husband into visiting Delhi with ^{for him.} promise of securing a job / She came to Delhi along-with her husband. An old man, the owner of the house where they stayed was murdered. His son suspected the couple and complained against them on sheer suspicion. The police came and arrested them. Her in-laws assisted her and her husband. Her family could not help because of their poverty.

She never felt alienated and cut off from society. If she were to born again as a woman she would wish to live a different type of life from the present one. She felt that economic poverty is a big stigma. One should have sufficient food to eat and clothes to wear.

She was suffering from loss of appetite and headache. Before coming to jail she never had complaints of this kind. She was suffering from stomach trouble and did not have regular menstruation. She had leucoderma (white patches) on her body also. Ever since she came to jail she could not get a good sleep.

This crime occurred in the month of October. At that time she had already finished, her menstruation. She did not feel any specific change in the body at that time. She believed in God and cursed her fate. She did not blame God. She believed that it was fated that way. Shanti felt that being poor, no one seemed to give her a patient hearing and even justice seemed to be denied. The police did not misbehave while they were in their custody.

The jail authorities were good people and behaved well. There was no difference in the treatment given to the prisoners. All got same type of food though it could not possibly be compared with home made food. Basic facilities were provided to all prisoners. However, communication between jail authorities and the convicts was lacking.

PROFILE : DT-7

The productivity level of the subject was much poor and the association productivity showed a limited trend with the increase of time taken on the test. In the very first response, the subject exhibited the dysphoric emotional state and carried it through. She showed an intense desire for love and affection, but at the same time she also showed the negative and positive behaviour pattern. Apart from this she also showed the inferiority which further anxiety state. She showed less concern with human environment. Intellectually, she had the capability of testing reality, but she could not conform to the social conventional norms.

Keeping in view her dysphoric emotional state, morbid thoughts, inferiority feelings she appeared to be tilted more towards depressive side.

Comments

With a poor, rural background; jobless husband; and a dream of better life; Shanti came down to Delhi in search of a job with her husband. An innocent village girl as she was then, hardly knew that a charge of murder was waiting for her in Delhi. But all her

dream was shattered when she was arrested for murdering an old man. There was nothing substantial in Shanti's case which could be related to her crime. But her dysphoric emotional state, inferiority feelings, morbid thoughts, etc. as revealed by Rorschach data indicated her depressive state. Loss of appetite and sleep, stomach ailment and disturbed menstruation indicated her disturbed psychological state. Since she could hardly conform to social conventional norms, she could perhaps have had psychopathic personality but then these symptoms could be a reaction to conviction.

CASE : DT-8

Kamla a 24 years old Hindu woman came from a rural background of Nepal. She was uneducated and unmarried. She was in one of the Brothels on G.B. Road. She was getting Rs.400-500 p.m. Her parents were alive. Her father was a farmer earning Rs.1000/- p.m. It was a joint family of 10 members. She was the eldest child in her family. Discipline in the family was loose.

She was convicted for prostitution at a young age. According to the police she was a minor (less than 18 years) at the time of arrest. The police did not mistreat her. However, they would sometimes laugh at her. She did not receive any legal aid. No one helped her because her family members did not know where she was and what she was doing. She was sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment alongwith a fine of Rs.500/-. At the time of interview she had already completed 8 days in prison and had also paid the fine.

She fell ill during her childhood and lost her hair and developed some skin problem. Her parents loved her but would beat her when she did something wrong, or did not obey them. She quarrelled with her brothers and sisters during childhood because she was the eldest and tried to dominate her younger brothers and sisters. Her parents had a healthy mutual relationship though they quarrelled some times. She was never illtreated or discriminated against for being a girl.

Kamla had been working as a prostitute in the brothel for the last 3 years. She took up prostitution of her own will and no one forced her into this profession. She took up this profession to fulfil her needs. The one who ran the brothel and whom all the girls called Didi, got her released on bail. She admitted her crime, and said that she had been rightly punished. She did not feel alienated or cut off from the society before the crime nor her act was a revolt against society. She did not feel any remorse for her act. If she were ^{to} ~~re-~~born she would like to lead some other kind of life rather than the one she was leading.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental problems. However, she was tense. As a result, she felt headaches at times and could not sleep properly in the jail.

She committed this act in the month of June. She did not remember her menstrual cycle nor felt any physical and mental change in the body during that time. She believed in God and His will and cursed her fate for being a prostitute.

The police did not mistreat or trouble her. No incident occurred when she was in their custody. The jail authorities were also well behaved. The arrangements in jail were reasonable as food, bathing and washing arrangements, etc. were available to all prisoners.

PROFILE : DT-8

The subject showed good productivity. Her approach was 'D' dominating and 'W' was suppressed to a great extent. Her organizational ability was found less. Intellectually she was found pathologically incapable for testing reality. During succession she improved her percepts but failed to identify the popular percepts in first two cards. She improved her performance in other two cards but again deteriorated. This clearly showed her fluctuation in thinking process. There was stereotypy in her response pattern. Psychodynamically she was fixated at phallic stage and represented her sexual preoccupation in form of pole. She gave more importance to the unusual details (and that too of poor quality) and revealed queer thinking. Apart from this she reflected sexual fears in the form of perceiving feet of a woman along with male. Heterosexual tendencies were marked in her protocol. Emotionally, she showed no control over her emotions. EB revealed extratensive personality. Her 'P' form showed incapability to conform to the social conventional norms.

Comments

Poor porticoes need not necessarily be the store house of morality as was evident in the case of Kamla, an inmate of G.B. Road brothel in Delhi. Poor girl from Nepal as she reported, developed a skin problem during childhood and lost her hairs. This may have led her to feel inferior in the eyes of others and a realization of the futility of life. The sanctity of the body is likely to be compromised with a more liberal attitude in such a situation which may finally result in such type of aberration. Some such thing may have happened with Kamla who took to prostitution on her own. This she might have done to satisfy her sex desire. Her Rorschach protocols showed lot of hetro sexual preoccupations. She could not conform to social norm and hence she was in the flesh trade. She had borderline intelligence.

CASE : DT-9

Angoori a 20 year old Hindu (Dhanak) girl belonged to a rural background. She was uneducated and unmarried. She was a prostitute. Her father (deceased) was an agent. The total income of her family of 10 persons was Rs.700-800 p.m. She was eldest in her family. Discipline in the family was lax.

She was arrested for prostitution. The police did not mistreat her while she was in their custody. The trial went on in the court for 2 months and she was convicted under SITA and confined to jail on 23-7-1987 for six months.

She passed her childhood in extreme poverty and faced a lot of trouble and suffering. Her parents were considerate. Her father died at an early age. Her mother used to beat her at times whenever she was annoyed and lost her temper. She had sibling quarrels over small matters. She was the eldest daughter in the family and everybody obeyed her. Her mother also loved her and never discriminated against her for being a girl.

She had been in the profession for the last two years. Her family was poor and needed money so she opted for this profession. She had no alternative but this one and was forced into this profession due to poverty.

A lady who was known to her, took her to the brothel and sold her for Rs.1500/-.

Her mother helped her when she went to jail. She tried to get her released on bail. She admitted her offence. She realised that whatever had happened was all due to her bad fate. She repented for what she had done. If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead any other type of life rather than that of a prostitute.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental ailment. However, she was worried about her younger brother and sisters.

She did not remember the exact date of her menstrual period. But she felt restlessness and tiredness during this period. She believed in God and cursed her fate. According to her, all that had happened was due to God's will.

The police did not misbehave with her while she was in their custody. They were not strict with her. The jail authorities also treated her well. She did not face any problem in jail.

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PROFILE : DT-9

The subject showed marginal productivity. Her approach was 'D' dominating and the sequence was regular. The percepts seen were simple and were both of good and bad quality. Her ego strength was poor. Intellectually she showed her incapability of testing the reality (F+54). She started the test with dysphoric emotional content with heightened anxiety. There was stereotypy in her response pattern which showed inflexibility in her thinking process. She lacked empathy with human environment and failed to conform to the conventional norms. Her intellectual level was much below the average range. High animal responses were suggestive of low intellectual level and immaturity in thinking process. She lived in the world of fantasy and thereby introverted her feelings and thoughts. She disclosed her passivity in the shady determinants. Her high 'A' percent also projected the overall unhedonic, self deprived, anergic orientation to the environment. Her intellectual potentials seemed to have been snuffed out and frozen.

Comments

Lowest placement in social hierarchy (being a Harijan), extreme poverty and lax discipline in the family; pushed Angoori into prostitution where as Shanti (case no.DT-8) took to prostitution of her own, Angoori took it under the force of circumstances and economic pressures. She went in for it to maintain the family and earn for it. Her Rorschach data Jibbed well with her case which revealed that she was an introvert. Given to fantasies with low intelligence, she had a lot of anxiety. She could not conform to social norms and was passive by nature. She took to prostitution for providing to the family and her personality seemed to be suited to this profession.

CASE : DT 10

Sarbati a 25 years old Harijan woman belonging to a rural background, was uneducated and unemployed. She was married and had four children. Both, her husband and her father, were farmers. The total income of her family, consisting of 10 members, was Rs. 500/- p.m. She was the youngest child. The family was well disciplined.

She was convicted for murdering her husband. The police treated her well while she was in their custody. She remained in jail as an undertrial for 5 months and on 25th March, 1981 she was imprisoned for 20 years.

Sarbati spent an unhappy and miserable childhood. She lost her mother when she was just a child. She was brought up by her step mother who often beat her up and discriminated her against her own children. However, her father was kind and affectionate to her.

Sarbati's marriage was arranged by her father when she was just 12 years old. The father gave very little as dowry and in any case the in-laws did not demand any dowry. It took 7 years for sarbati to move into her new home with the in-laws.

Life in the new family was far from easy and harmonious for young Sarbati. The husband's joint family was large and quarrelsome. Sarbati recalled the occasional quarrels with her jethani (elder brother-in-law's wife) over domestic matters, and thus continuous hostility made her insecure.

Sarbati's woes were further aggravated by her husband who physically assaulted her after heavy bouts of drinking. Sarbati alleged that he was morally compromised and had an extra pre-marital relationship with an older woman who he could not marry. What made things worse was that her husband was a compulsive gambler and continued illicit relationship with other women. In short Sarbati suffered ill treatment from all quarters and was fed up with her married life.

The events that led up to the crime fitted well into that scenario. Sarbati reported that during a violent quarrel with her husband who resorted to physical assault, she lost her temper and in a sheer act of self defence she hit him on his head with a stick. This proved fatal as the husband fell dead then and there.

Sarbati clearly admitted having committed the crime and accepted her conviction as the logical outcome of her deed. She considered the act as her only alternative to free herself from the cruelty of her husband.

No body helped her after that incident. She felt as if she was cut off from the entire society. She repented for what she had done and if she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead a different type of life.

She was suffering from loss of appetite and was worried about her children. As a result, she could not

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sleep well.

This incident happened in the month of October. She did not precisely recall about her menstrual cycle. It was perhaps already completed.

She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was the will of God. The police behaved well while she was in their custody. They did not trouble her. Even jail authorities were also nice to her. She had no problem with the jail arrangements. Food was alright and she was satisfied with it.

PROFILE : DT-10

The subject showed poor productivity. Other approach was 'D' dominating and the sequence was irregular. Her reaction time was delayed and poor productivity reflected the poverty of ideas. Intellectually her capability of testing reality was good but she failed to conform to the conventional norms. Her higher 'A' percentage reflected self-deprivation, and energetic orientation to the environment. Her intellectual potentials were snuffed out and frozen. In other words, she showed feeble-mindedness. Her narrow areas of interest further substantiated her unhedonic attitude. Emotionally also she was a deprived woman. She did not indulge herself in any gratifying imagery, not even as fantasy activity. She failed to pursue the pleasures ^{at} / large in the world. Her experience balance manifested totally blunt affect. She could not understand others emotionally and get mutual satisfaction from others.

Comments

Loss of mother at a very early age and deprivation of love, oppression by step-mother and cruelty by husband; discordant relations, and uncongenial atmosphere at in-laws made Sarbati's life a hell. She was fed up with her life after receiving continuous torture from husband and his insulting behaviour. His nasty habits of drinking and gambling were sufficient enough to cause dissatisfaction and frustration in her. She could have adjusted with her husband even then, but on finding that he was still continuing with debauchery and was in no mood to give it up, she developed contempt and hatred for him and became so much desperate that she killed him. A married lady cannot tolerate the existence of other lady in the life of her husband. She can go to any extent to take a revenge on this count. Jealousy, hatred and revenge led Sarbati to commit this heinous crime.

Her Rorschach data supported Sarbati's case and showed that she was a deprived, feeble-minded women. Having blunt affect and emotional insensitivity. She could not have mutual affection for any one, and failed to pursue pleasures at large in the world. She was a mentally disturbed person and had lost appetite and sleep as a result.

CASE : DT-11

Sixtyfive years old Shakuntala was a Hindu (Baniya) by birth. She was a housewife and came from an urban background. Her late father was a businessman who owned a grocery shop, earning an income of about Rs.5000/- p.m. Apart from Shakuntala her late parents had two sons and two daughters. Shakuntala's own family was fairly large. She and her husband had four sons, two daughters, four daughter-in-laws and nine grand children. The family was disciplined and lived together.

Shakuntala was convicted of having burnt her daughter-in-law and had been sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment after a trial that lasted for a year.

Shakuntala spent her childhood happily and was never beaten or discriminated against by her parents. She got on well with her siblings and was sent to school at the age of 5 years. Shakuntala was fond of school and her teachers were helpful and kind to her. Though she had an interest in studies, she could not continue for long and had to leave in fourth class when she was engaged to be married.

Married at the early and tender age of ten, Shakuntala was sent to her in-laws at the age of twelve. The marriage was arranged and it was reported that a substantial dowry was paid inspite of there having been no specific demand for it.

Life in the new family was normal, with the sisters-in-law and others being kind to Shakuntala however her mother-in-law was a shrewd lady and often snubbed her. Though she felt secure in her new environment there were instances when she quarrelled with her mother-in-law over trifles.

Shakuntala was happily married, and her rather soft spoken husband loved and cared for his young wife. He never ill treated her in any way, and was faithful to her. He was reported to have been obedient towards his parents, but at the same time he was considerate and affectionate towards his wife.

Shakuntala explained the circumstances that led to the alleged incident. She had come from Barot to Delhi to help her daughter-in-law who was in the family way. She claimed that her relations with the daughter-in-law were cordial inspite the fact that the daughter-in-law was shrewd and head strong. One evening while the daughter-in-law was reported to have been lighting a stove, her clothes got caught in the flames. The girl was seriously burnt and gave a dying declaration that it had been an accident and that both Shakuntala and her brother-in-law who were present tried to save her. The High Court acquitted both Shakuntala and her son, however the Supreme Court reversed the judgement and convicted them. Shakuntala reported that the Mahila Samiti protested against the High Court decision,

alleging that she and her son were involved in the crime. Her husband tried to get her released on bail but was not successful.

Shakuntala claimed that the charge made on her was false, and was not at all reconciled to her conviction. She felt she was completely innocent and as such felt no remorse whatsoever about what she was alleged to have done.

If she were to born again she would like to have same kind of life as she was having with her husband and children before conviction.

She had loss of appetite. Earlier she had no such problem. She felt bad all day long. She was suffering from diabeties and blood pressure. Earlier she had only sugar problem. She felt restless then. As a result, she could not sleep well. Earlier it was not so. Crime was committed during winter. She had come to the stage of menopause at the time of crime. At the time of menstruation she used to have high blood pressure. She had deep faith in religion. She cursed her fate for all that had happened. She did not blame God for the crime.

The police behaved well. They were not harsh. Rather they helped her in meeting relations. No incident occurred during police custody. Jail authorities also behaved nicely with her.

PROFILE : DT-11

The subject ^{showed} / poor productivity. Her reaction time was very short. She did not show any concern about the stimuli around her. She just named the colors or described the figures as blot or line. This clearly reflected poverty of ideas. Some researchers consider color naming as a pathogenic sign in organic brain damage and a few others take it as a schizophrenic feature. Intellectually, she had pathological incapacities of testing reality (F+50%). Her ego strength was found too low and clear absence of popular responses reflected her incapability to conform to the social conventional norms. She had a very narrow area of interests and a tendency to revolt on a minor provoking situation. Emotionally she had no control over her emotions.

Comments

It is a case based on deep rooted mother-in-law versus daughter-in-law intrigues, conflicts and jealousies ultimately resulting in murder of the later. Nothing significant was found in her case which could be related to the crime committed by Shakuntala. Everything was reported to be going on smoothly in the

family except one incident which attributed motive to it. Shakuntala perceived her daughter-in-law (the victim) as a shrewd and headstrong. But that hardly provided any reason to Shakuntala to kill her daughter-in-law.

But her Rorschach data showed that she had no control over her emotions and was pathologically incapable of testing the reality. She was reported to have committed the crime during the post menopausal period. She had disturbed sleep and loss of appetite, blood-pressure and diabeties. Colour naming indicated her schizophrenic conditions. But it is doubtful whether these things could be related to murder.

CASE : DT-12

fortytwo year old Raj Rani was a Hindu (Grover) by birth. She was educated and having passed her higher secondary examination was employed as a Teacher in a Government Primary School. Raj Rani belonged to an urban background and was the daughter of a Commission Agent. She was married to a Clerk in the Delhi Transport Corporation and together they lived in a family of four men, four women and two children.

After a trial lasting 3 or 4 months, Raj Rani was convicted and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment for abetting her sister-in-law to commit suicide. Though She was not provided any legal aid, she did manage to hire a private lawyer to argue her case in court.

As a child, Raj Rani was reported to have suffered a serious bout of pneumonia, but apart from this ailment, she was treated affectionately by her parents and never quarrelled with her siblings. Her parents often quarrelled with each other, but it did not seem to affect their affection for the child who was never discriminated against in any way.

Raj Rani entered school at the age of five, she liked going to school and her teachers were fond of her as she seemed to have been good at her studies. She studied till the 11th class but had to leave her studies due to love affair.

She was married at the age of 25 and went to her in-laws soon after. No dowry was demanded, so nothing was given as such. It was a love marriage. All members of the in-laws family were well behaved towards her. However, at times she quarrelled with her mother-in-law. But there was nothing substantial in these quarrels and disarguments. Everyone in the family was good to her and she felt secure in the new family environment.

Her husband was well behaved and loved her a great deal. He provided her all comforts and she seemed to be satisfied with him. He was faithful to his wife. Whenever there was a quarrel in the family he took sides with both the parties, which meant that he neither neglected his parents nor his wife. Raj Rani's husband was an educated and soft spoken man who never maltreated his wife. He was reported of not having any bad habits or post marital relationships and Raj Rani liked living with the in-laws and seemed satisfied with her marital life.

She repudiated the charge and said that she did not commit the crime. But since her daughter's character was questioned so she had a point for dispute. She had a quarrel over this delicate matter with her brother's wife. Her Brother's wife (second in marriage) committed suicide. She committed suicide at her own house. She

spoke ill of her husband in her suicidal note and further stated that her sister-in-law's (Raj Rani) marriage was a love marriage so she will persuade her daughter also to do the same. She further added that if her daughter won't agree to it then she will arrange for her kidnapping since she was also like her mother (of dubious character).

Her in-laws helped her a lot and tried to get her released on bail. She said that she did not commit the crime. She only quarrelled with her sister-in-law because she threatened to kidnap her daughter. Therefore, she did not feel convinced with her conviction.

She never felt cut off from the society. She never did it as a revolt against society nor did she feel any remorse. If reborn, she would like to lead some other kind of life.

She did not have loss of appetite. But she suffered from blood pressure which she did not have earlier. She was worried about her husband and children. She did not sleep well. Earlier all these problems were not there.

Crime was committed in winter. At the time of crime she had her monthly menstruation. She did not feel any change in her physical condition at that time except that she used to get angry very soon, on account

of irritation. She believed in religion. She cursed her fate for the crime, and thought it was the will of God.

Police behaved well with her. They didn't trouble her. No incident occurred during her police custody. Jail authorities also behaved well. However, the Doctor in jail was not co-operative. The diet given was not good. She wanted to cook for herself in jail, but she was not allowed. Higher authorities did not listen to her grievances. She felt there was corruption in the jail.

PROFILE : DT-12

The productivity of the subject was marginal. Her approach was DIW, and the sequence was methodical. The percepts as seen by the subject were mostly good but dominated by animal contents. This showed the immaturity in her thinking process. She represented the feeble-minded group. In spite of good response pattern she could not achieve the ability of testing reality, nor she conformed to the social conventional norms. Emotionally she was a deprived woman. Neither she fantasised nor expressed her emotions. Her experience actual was just zero, which meant that she was incapable of sharing emotions and getting sympathy from the world around her.

Her protocol suggested her of having totally blunt, self deprived and immature state of mind.

Comments

This was a case of a lady teacher Raj Rani who was alleged to have abetted her sister-in-law to commit suicide. Her Sister-in-law was reported to have threatened Raj Rani to kidnap her daughter who was blamed to be a girl of easy morals like her mother. Raj Rani could not tolerate it and picked up quarrel with the latter. What happened exactly between them and why her sister-in-law committed suicide on that flimsy

ground, was all shrouded in mystery.

Raj Rani's Rorschach responses showed that she was emotionally blunt, deprived and immature person. But this could not be verified from her case history. She was not feeble-minded also. Only point was that she married after a love affair. But there was nothing wrong in it. Nevertheless, she felt hurt when her daughter's character was doubted. In this case Rorschach responses and facts of the case did not synchronise with each other and told a different story. Perhaps, the crime could be related to the prestige of the family which was lowered on account of Raj Rani's love marriage and which her family particularly her sister-in-law (brother's second wife) could not tolerate.

CASE DT-13

Phoolwati was 24 years old Hindu woman with a rural background. She was illiterate and unemployed but married. Her father was a farmer, her husband worked for a Municipal Corporation. Her family had its own agriculture land. Her family was large. There were 8 members (5 males and 3 females) with 6 dependents in the family. She was the third child in her family. Her parents were alive.

She was convicted for murder. The police treated her well. However, no one helped her at that time and no legal aid was provided to her. Trial went on for 2½ years and sentence was passed on her on 27-1-1986. She was imprisoned for 10 years.

Her childhood was normal except that she once had measles. Parents treated her well. She had good relations with her family members. She was never beaten although she had quarrels at times with siblings while playing. Parents had good mutual relations but they also quarrelled sometimes with each other. However, they loved her and never discriminated against her for being a girl.

She didn't know at what age she was offered in marriage. Perhaps it was done during her childhood. She went to her in-laws after 15 years of marriage.

Dowry was not demanded. It was an arranged marriage. She didn't want to marry any particular man. In-laws behaved well with her and were satisfied with ^{her} behaviour. In-law's No incident occurred. She felt secure with her family and they cared for her. She never quarrelled with anyone in her husband's household.

Her husband was affectionate and caring. He provided all facilities to her and she was satisfied with him. He obeyed his father, and took sides with his mother whenever there was any quarrel. Although he was an illiterate person. Yet he had a nice temperament. He was not having any vices, nor he had any pre ^{or} / post marital relations with any other woman. She liked living with her in-laws and was fully satisfied with her married life.

The Crime was committed on 22nd June, 1983. Some body wanted to rape her. Her parents could not help her as they were poor. Father tried for her bail. She admitted that she had committed the crime. The charge levelled against her was not false. She said she had been punished for her deed and felt remorseful for whatever she had done. If reborn as a woman she would like to lead a different kind of life.

She did not suffer from any major ailment except that she felt pain in her throat. It was not there earlier. She was also worried. She had severe headaches

at times. As a result, she could not sleep well. She was going to have her menses at the time of crime. However, she did not feel any change in her physical or mental condition. She believed in religion and cursed her fate for the crime. She did not feel that this was the will of God.

Police was not very strict with her nor did they give her any trouble. No incident occurred while she was in their custody. Jail authorities too behaved well with her. They were cooperative. Food was bad sometimes, but it was available in time. She did not want to say anything more about the arrangements in jail.

PROFILE : DT-13

The subject showed poor productivity. She started perceiving stones in the beginning and continued with this response till middle of the testing. She at times showed intense desire for love and affection. But soon after she picked up shaded responses in the form of clouds which further intensified her dysphoric state of gloom. In the end she tried to come out of this state, but could not succeed. Intellectually, she showed her incapacibilities of testing reality. Her ego boundaries were narrow and showed her incapability to conform to the social conventional norms. Overall her contents suggested a depressive state where she adopted repression as a major defense. She failed to fantasize but was able to express her emotions.

From psychiatric point of view she could be put to the category of psychosis which showed her more towards the depressive side.

Comments

No female particularly Indian, howsoever illiterate she may be, would like to tolerate such a situation where her modesty is in danger. Phoolwati's modesty was at stake when somebody wanted to rape her

and molest her chastity. She committed the murder to save her chastity and maintain her dignity. She confessed the crime and said that she did it to defend herself.

Her Rorschach data revealed that she suffered from psychotic depression and had disturbed sleep. She showed intense desire for love and affection. But she was hardly aware of reality and failed to abide by the norm. It is just possible that she might have tried to save her face while committing the crime.

CASE : DT-14

Anita a 28 years old Hindu (Verma) woman belonged to an urban background. She was an educated (upto higher Secondary) but a divorced lady. She was working as a Typist in a surgical factory and was getting a salary of Rs.750/- p.m. Her father was in business and manufactured regulators of gas cylinders. Mother was a housewife. Her husband was a Clerk. She came from a joint family of 5 members. The family was well disciplined.

She was convicted for murdering her step daughter. Police treated her well, but no one came forward to ^{help} her at that time nor did she receive any legal aid. She had to engage her own lawyer and spend a lot of money. Trial went on for a year. Punishment was awarded to her on 27-5-1983. She was imprisoned for 10 years.

During her childhood she had to work hard at home as she was the eldest. She suffered a head injury during her childhood. Parents behaviour was normal towards her. She had also behaved well with them. Her parents, loved her alongwith her sisters. She was not beaten but mother used to bring her round by arguments. She did not quarrel with her siblings as she was the eldest among them. Parents had good mutual relations. However, they quarrelled at times. She claimed to have been her

father's

/ favourite child, and he never discriminated against her for being a girl.

She went to school at the age of 4. She liked going to school. Teachers treated her well and encouraged her in her studies. Being an average student, also. her teachers often helped her / She wanted to study further but had to leave school because of marriage. No specific incident occurred during her childhood.

She was married at the age of 18. She went to her in-laws soon after. Parents gave whatever dowry they could afford. However her in-laws later on taunted her for not bringing enough dowry. It was an arranged marriage. She wanted to marry someone else. But she could not do so as her parents were against that boy. The in-laws behaviour was so so but her mother-in-law did not like her and was mean to her. Her husband quarrelled almost daily with her due to which she did not feel secure at her in-laws house though she never picked up quarrels with them.

Her husband treated her very badly. Since marriage was according to his wish, so he had to love her. It was a love under compulsion. Otherwise, / he never provided any comfort to her. She was anyhow pulling on with him. He had pre-marital relations with many women. They used to even visit their house. This disturbed his marital relations.

He never cared for anyone. He was an obstinate fellow. His first wife had died due to illness leaving behind a daughter. Her husband was B.A. and had done a course in Electricity. He was a drunkard and often beat her after drinking. He was an addict, and often came home late. She had to somehow adjust with him and be satisfied with whatever had fallen to her lot.

She had to suffer much after the delivery. The in-laws did not help her at all. So she went to her own house to stay with her mother. She loved her step-daughter very much. Her step daughter also loved her. Her step daughter once came to visit her and did not like to leave her but then her husband came and took her away. After sometime the police came, searched her house and arrested her for drowning the girl (step daughter). The S.H.O. was corrupt. She was charged with a false charge because her husband wanted to take a divorce from her.

The divorce was granted to him while she was in jail. She reported that her marriage was arranged by deceit and fraud. The in-laws did not tell her about the step-daughter. They wanted to marry their son with the younger sister of his first wife. But as she had blood sugar the marriage could not be materialised.

Her parents helped her and wanted to get her released on bail but she did not agree. She did not think that punishment given to her was just.

She vehemently refuted the charge and did not feel any remorse since she had not done it. If reborn as a woman she would like to lead a different type of life.

The step mothers are generally disliked, criticised and blamed. She had been convicted for being a step-mother. In-laws evidence was against her. In-laws wanted her to bear a son. Three magistrates were changed during her trial and her in-laws approached them all to influence the judgement. All the loopholes were there in court proceedings.

She felt a loss of appetite and was suffering from ulcer. She had no physical illness before crime. But then, she was found worried about her future. As such she could not sleep well. Crime was reported to have been committed after delivery. She had a strong belief in religion and thought that nothing is within ones control. It is all God's will. She cursed her fate for all that had happened.

The police behaved well and was not at all strict to her. The jail authorities were also good. But the food arrangement was not at all good in jail. The prisoners could order for things from outside. What to speak of medical care, they did not get even medicines which generally remained out of stock. Besides, their grievances were also not heard. Rest she did not want to speak out as she reported that she was to live in jail.

PROFILE : DT-14

The subject showed good productivity. Her approach was 'D' dominating and 'W' and 'Dd' were suppressed. The sequence was irregular. Intell-
ectually she showed enough capability of testing the reality. Her ego strength was good and she had a mature thinking level. She showed much concern for the anatomical percepts and to explain these percepts she emphasised the parts of a 'Minor'. She at times expressed morbid thoughts but changed her mind soon after and gave artistic explanation. She reflected all through the fluctuating tendencies and dysphoric emotional state.

Comments

Marriage against her choice (as she wanted to marry some other boy) with a widower who was already having a daughter. Demand for more dowry from in-laws and harassment particularly from mother-in-law for not fulfilling their demand, cruel treatment including beating by the husband and his nasty habits of drinking and womanising, wishing her to reproduce a male child, and a bias against ^{her for} being a step mother all together, ruined the life of Anita. Howsoever, good the step-mother may be still they are disliked; hated, criticized and blamed in Indian Society.

Anita perhaps gave the price for being a step mother. Perhaps she wanted to take a revenge from her in-laws particularly from her husband who ruined her life.

The Rorschach data revealed that Anita had a strong ego and maturity of thinking. Her approach was dominating and she had enough capability of testing the reality. But then, she also had the fluctuating tendency. As a result, she could not stick to one thing. She had hypochondriasis and suffered from peptic ulcers. She was found worried about her future and had a disturbed sleep.

CASE : BJ-1

Chameli (32) was the daughter of a landless labourer. A/^{low}Hindu by birth, she was uneducated and unemployed. Her husband worked as a servant to a landlord. The total income earned by the family was approximately Rs.500/- p.m. She lived in a large family of ten members.

Chameli stood convicted for murder. Her trial lasting for 11 months led to the orders for her confinement to jail for 20 years. The judgement was pronounced on 10th January, 1988.

Chameli reported that she was manhandled and beaten up while in police custody. She was not provided with any legal aid and her husband helped her to hire a private lawyer.

Chameli passed off her childhood in great misery and tension. Her parents attitude towards her was also not very good. She was at times beaten up whenever her mother was in a bad temper. She quarrelled with her brothers and sisters over trifling matters. Her parents did not enjoy a healthy relationship. They used to quarrel quite often. They discriminated against her for being a girl, though her elder brother loved her a great deal.

She got married at the age of 22 and went to her in-laws soon after. Her parents did not give any

dowry at the time of her marriage, nor did her in-laws demand it since she got married to her brother-in-law after her sister's death. She got married to him in accordance with her parents wish as well as her own consent. She did not have any other person in view.

All the members of the in-laws family were nice to her and were satisfied with her behaviour. Her mother-in-law was not alive when she got married. However, Chameli was to face great misfortune after her marriage. She lost both her children. One died at the age of two months and the other was still born. However, she felt secure at her in-laws house because they respected her and cared for her. She never had any quarrel with her in-laws family. However, her husband quarrelled with her sometimes, as she used to ask him to consult a doctor which he resented.

Her uneducated husband's behaviour was normal. Some times he misbehaved with her. She was married to him with her own as well as her husband's consent. So both husband and wife got adjusted with each other. He provided her with all the necessities he could afford. He obeyed his father and sided with him whenever there was a quarrel in the family. Being short tempered, her husband used to abuse and beat her ^{whenever} they quarrelled.

Though he did not have any bad habits or any extra marital relations. But he did not bother to return home in time.

She reported that she was not satisfied with her married life because it was his second marriage. Moreover there was an age difference of 10 years between her and her husband. She had also to bear the burden of looking after his four children from his first wife who was her own real elder sister.

She committed this crime in November, 1984. According to her when her children died she was very much upset and depressed. There was an Ojha (Exorcist) in the village who suggested to her that if she sacrificed a newborn child her own children would survive. Therefore, with the help of one of her friends she committed this crime to satisfy her own desire of having a child. She had ^{other} no ^{but to} alternative / commit the crime with a clear ^{cut} motive and was abetted to do it.

Her husband helped her while she was in police custody but her parents did not even come to her rescue. Her husband tried to get her released on bail but it was not granted. She pleaded guilty and confessed her crime. She repented for what she had done. If she were to be reborn as a woman she would like to lead some other kind of life.

She was not suffering from any disease except some stomach trouble. She never had any trouble earlier. She wondered why her children did not survive. She did not remember when she last menstruated. She believed in God and cursed her fate. She thought that whatever had happened was the will of God.

The police behaved badly with her while she was in their custody. They were very strict and used to beat her. The jail authorities however, behaved nicely. She had no problems with them and their management.

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PROFILE : BJ-1

The subject showed marginal productivity with average reaction time. Her approach was 'D' dominating which suggested her practical intelligence. But the sequence followed by the subject was irregular. The subject switched from one angle to other frequently. The percepts seen by the subject were all decaying and morbid and there ^{were} / unpleasant feelings attached to each response. She perceived more body parts as compared to whole percept. This clearly depicted the dysphoric emotional state of the subject. Though the subject tried to present herself in a better manner but due to the inner depressive feelings she could not do so. Her EB had shown dominance of movement but her perception of spatial responses depicted suspiciousness. The subject showed less concern with the human environment. Her ability to conform to the social reality was also found less from psychiatric point of view. This protocol tilted more towards depression.

Comments

Lowest placement in social hierarchy (being harijan) coupled with extreme poverty; discriminatory treatment together with aggressive behaviour of parents. Dissatisfaction from married life on account of being a second wife with too much difference in age between her and her husband and above all death of her own children soon after birth filled Chameli's life with gloom. She was entrapped by an Ojha (Exorcist) who persuaded her to sacrifice a young child. Having no way out to get a son and be happy, Chameli did it with the help of a friend which landed her in jail. That shows how powerful the maternal instinct is and to what extent can it lead a woman. An issueless woman particularly Indian woman can go to any extent to get a child.

Her Rorschach data reflected her acute sense of depression alongwith dysphoric state of emotion. Her belief that sacrifice will get her a child and will make him survive tended to suggest that she was suffering from paranoid illness. Her responses showing less concern for human beings seemed to be justified. Her stomach pains tended to symbolise her labour pains that occur at the time of delivery of a child.

CASE : BJ-2

Shanti,^a/Bishnoi women aged 40 years belonged to a rural background. She was an uneducated and unemployed woman. Her father was a Zamindar and had a comfortable income. Her family which consisted of 8 members, was large and she was the second born child in an order of six brothers and sisters.

She was convicted for murdering her mother-in-law. The police illtreated her when she was in their custody. At that time she was helped by her elder brother who arranged an advocate and money for the bail. She had arranged her own advocate as she did not get any help from the law. The case was tried in the court for 11 months. And she was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in November, 1984.

She passed^{off}/her childhood in a normal way but had one traumatic experience. When she was very young, she fell down in a well and was ill. Her parents treated her well. Her father passed away when she was very young. She was sometimes beaten by her mother when she quarrelled with her brothers and sisters over small things. She did not ^{remember} / about her parents mutual relationship. Her elder brother loved her most and her mother never discriminated against her being a girl but her grand mother preferred boys.

She got married at the age of 12 years and went to her in-laws after two years. Her parents did not give her much dowry although her in-laws had demanded Rs. 2000/ in the 'Tikka' ceremony. It was an arranged marriage. She did not want to marry any specific person of her choice. Her father-in-law, elder brother-in-law and his wife and sisters -in-law were good to her but her mother-in-law was very sharp-tongued lady and used to quarrel with her. Her father-in-law and mother-in-law also used to quarrel with each other quite often. However, she felt secure while living with them.

Her husband treated her nicely. She got married to him with her consent. He loved her and she also loved him. Her in-laws had a joint family system so, every body was provided the same facilities. She and her husband were both satisfied with each other. She did not know whether her husband had any premarital relationship. She never bothered also about her husband's past life.

When ever there was a quarrel in the family, her husband supported the right person. He though uneducated, was well behaved. However he was slightly short tempered and did abuse her when angry. Except that he was not having any bad habits. She wished to live with her husband separately. She was satisfied with her married life.

No one from her in-laws family helped her while she was in police custody. Her elder brother tried to get her released on bail. If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead some other kind of life.

Once when she and her mother-in-law were quarrelling her father-in-law who was listening to their conversation came in between and pushed her mother-in-law with his hand. As result she fell down and struck her head against a stone which resulted in her death. All her in-laws blamed her for the incident. She pleaded not guilty and filed an appeal to the supreme court for bail since it had not been granted by High Court.

She was not suffering from any physical ailment. The incident occurred in winter. She could not recall the date of her menstruation. She believed in God. But she cursed her fate for being in jail. Had she not picked up a quarrel with her mother-in-law she would not have faced that consequence. She believed that God decides about everything.

The police did not behave well with her while ^{she} was in their custody. They were very strict and used to beat her quite often. The Jail authorities were however, good to her. She never faced any problem with the jail arrangement. All facilities were reported to be provided in jail.

PROFILE : BJ-2

The subject showed poor productivity. There was variability in her reaction time. The subject's approach was DW and the sequence was irregular. The percepts seen by the subject were mostly of poor quality. Her ego strength was found poor. There was immaturity in her thinking level, and intellectually also, she was found to be much below the average range. In order to make a percept more meaningful the subject greatly fabulised the responses which reflected her thinking disturbances. Apart from that, a few bizzare responses were also present. Although the subject had shown her ability to control her emotions. But her contact with reality was poor. She manifested psychiatric pathology and schizophrenic type of ailment.

Comments

Rural background together with illiteracy; a trauma during childhood (when she fell into a well) coupled with discrimination (for being a girl) and occasional beating; quarrelsome treatment of mother-in-law were reported to be the only situational factors which led Shanti to jail. The way the facts were presented did not appear to be convincing. There could be something more which Shanti kept to herself and did not disclose

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despite probing. Perhaps, it could be mother-in-law vs daughter-in-law intrigues and jealousies which resulted in a serious crime like murder.

As seen in the light of Rorschach responses, Shanti's intellectual level was much below average. Her thinking was found to be disturbed. Although she had an ability to control her emotions. But her contact with reality was found to be poor. the overall responses suggested that she suffered from Schizophrenic type of ailment.

CASE : EJ-3

Chando was a young 20 years old Hindu (Balmiki) woman. She belonged to a rural background and was illiterate. Both Chando and her husband were agricultural labourers working for a Zamindar (landlord).

Chando belonged to a joint family consisting of 4 adult males, 6 adult females and 4 children. Her father was an orderly in the army and the mother a house wife. Both were not alive.

The young woman (Chando) stood convicted for having murdered a small child who she allegedly abducted from her neighbour's house. After her trial which lasted for 11 months, she was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment on January 10, 1985. It was reported that she was ill treated and beaten up repeatedly while in police custody. However, with some help from her-in-laws, she did manage to get herself released on bail.

Chando's early childhood was difficult as the family was constantly in the grip of poverty. However, her parents were kind and affectionate towards her and so were her brothers. Chando's parents were happily married, but at times there were petty quarrels between them.

The young Chando was married at the early age of 15 and moved into her husband's family soon after. Her poor parents could not afford to give her much in terms of a dowry though, her in-laws had demanded a bicycle and 50 gms. of gold at the time of her wedding. Life in the new family remained peaceful, and being the eldest daughter-in-law, the in-laws were also kind and considerate. However there was one sister-in-law who for some reason or the other constantly quarrelled with Chando.

Chando's marriage started getting strained after five years, as she was unable to have a child. Slowly the attitude of both the in-laws as well as the husband became indifferent. As time passed, the husband frustrated by the fact that Chando was barren, picked up frequent quarrels with her and even beat her at times. He even started to hint at post marital relationships with other women which made Chando not only jealous but extremely insecure.

It was perhaps this sense of insecurity and frustration that provoked Chando to visit a local exorcist (ojha) who suggested that she should sacrifice a new born child in order to have children of her own.

With the help of another woman Chando was alleged to have set about this task by abducting a neighbour's child and then handing it over to the Ojha. The crime was reported to the police by the parents of the abducted child leading to Chando's arrest.

Her husband helped her by arranging an advocate for her. Her parents also helped her by giving money to her husband. She confessed her crime and its punishment. She found herself lonely and cut off from the society. She repented for what she had done. She believed in God and cursed her fate. If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead other kind of life than she was leading in jail.

She was not suffering from any physical ailment except that she was worried about her husband and her future. She was expecting her menstruation just before crime. She got irritated and restless at that time.

The police behaviour was not good to her, but the behaviour of jail authorities was nice. She did not face any problem in jail. Food arrangement was fine and bathroom facilities were also available there. She did not give any other comment about the jail management.

PROFILE : BJ-3

The subject showed marginal productivity with a delayed reaction time. Her approach was DI and WII and the sequence was regular. The percepts seen by the subject were of good quality but were of simple nature.

Her ego strength was good. There was evidence of immaturity in her thinking process because she put more emphasis on animal percepts. She had marginal areas of interest. Her organizational ability was good and her ability to conform to the social conventional norm was also no less than good. There was neither any bizzare response nor any sign of thought disturbance. The subject did not show any fantasy. However, her experience balance revealed her Extratensive type of personality. From psychiatric point of view, the subject did not show any pathogenic feature.

Comments

Extremely poor, uneducated, Harijan girl with rural background and strict discipline in the family, Chando when could not become a mother even after five years of her marital life, peace of mind and happiness had left her for good.

Love and affection, care and respect which she had earlier enjoyed at her in-laws were gone for ever. And there came neglect, disliking and humiliation^{in its} place. She gained nothing out of her wedlock except hopelessness and helplessness. The fear and anxiety for not being able to produce a child made her tense and restless and she became totally frustrated. There was nothing strange in it if she under this critical situation of conflict contacted an Ojha (exorcist) and acted upon his advice.

The Ojha suggested her to sacrifice a newly born child. Chando with the help of her friend abducted a child and gave him to Ojha who later sacrificed him. Chando committed this heinous offence out of sheer desperation as she had no other alternative to get a child.

Her Rorschach responses did not suggest any abnormality in her personality although there was evidence of immaturity in her thinking. She was extratensive type of personality.

CASE : BJ-4

Ramkala who was a 33 years old Hindu (Aheer) woman belonged to a rural background. Though She was uneducated and unemployed yet she was married. Her father was a farmer and her husband a labourer. Total income of her family was around 1500/-p.m. She had a joint family with a total of 13 members of which 6 were males, 4 females and 3^{were} children. She was the eldest among sisters and had two elder brothers. Her parents were alive and Family discipline was very strict.

She was convicted for murdering her husband. The police did not behave well with her while she was in their custody. Her parents got her released ^{on} / bail and hired an advocate for her. She was not given any legal aid. The trial went on for one year four months and she was finally sentenced to jail for 20 years on 2nd February, 1988.

She passed ^{off} / her childhood in great misery and sufferings. Her family had little income in proportion to the expenditure. Besides, all the girls in family were not given any freedom. The discipline in the family was very strict.

Parent's behaviour however, was normal and her behaviour towards them and others was also alright. She was beaten at times whenever she committed any mistakes. Siblings also had petty quarrels like taking each other's things. Though parents mutual relationship was good still, they used to have arguments and quarrels quite often. She was also discriminated against for being a girl. Her eldest brother loved her most.

She got married at the age of 18 years and went to her in-laws soon after. Her parents did not give her many things in dowry. Her in-laws also did not demand any thing. It was an arranged marriage. But she wanted to marry someone else. Her parents were against that match. At her in-laws her mother-in-law and younger brother-in-law did not like her and used to quarrel with her. All the other members of the family however, behaved well and were satisfied with her behaviour.

Her husband was not respected in the family as he often had quarrels with the family members. She did not feel secure in her in-laws family as her younger brother-in-law had an eye on her and did not respect her. Her husband behaviour towards her was also not good. She did not like him for that. Although her husband never said any thing to her yet he did not provide her even the necessities of life.

Both husband and wife however, got adjusted to each other and were satisfied to some extent.

She did not know whether her husband ever had any pre or post marital relationship with other woman nor he ever told her any thing of this sort to her. Her husband listened more to his parents and took his mother's side whenever there was a quarrel in the family. Her husband was educated up to 10th class. But he was a short tempered man. He sometimes abused her whenever there was a quarrel between them. She could not tolerate his dominance. Though he did not have any bad habits like drinking or gambling yet, she preferred to live separately with her husband. She was not satisfied with her married life, as her husband had no prestige or say in the family nor he ever favoured her.

She confessed her crime which she committed in November, 1987. She committed the crime with certain amount of premeditation as she had no other alternative. She did it to take revenge ^{and} / to avoid frustration arisen out of certain situation. One day her husband had a quarrel with her and threatened to kill her. Both her husband and her brother-in-law tried ^{to kill her} / but she had a narrow escape. But next day, she lost her temper and killed her husband with an axe which was lying near by.

PROFILE : BJ-4

The subject had marginal productivity. Her reaction time was delayed. The subject's approach was DI and DII and the sequence was slightly irregular. The subject perceived more body parts both of human and animal which suggested preoccupation with somatic concern. Her ego boundaries were comparatively stronger. But she had a tendency for paying more attention to the minor details which otherwise reflected certain obsessive traits. At the same time, the subject had shown hardly any control over her emotional state. She merely described the colors which usually demented people perceive. But keeping in view the form and level she did not have the distorted perception. Nevertheless, the subject lacked ability to conform to the social conventional norms.

From psychiatric point of view the subject did show depressive features more of psychotic nature.

Comments

Born and brought up in a large poor farmer's family with a very limited income but with a very strict discipline and discrimination with lack of freedom and education, Ram Kala had to pass through her childhood in a great misery and sufferings.

As was her childhood so was her marital life.

Ram Kala had to marry against her choice as she wanted to marry some other man whom she liked. Her mother-in-law used to pick up quarrels and her younger brother-in-law had an eye on her. Her husband had no say or prestige in the family. He was a meek person. But he always tried to dominate her which she never liked. He abused her and always tried to let her go down in the eyes of others. Perhaps he doubted her character. She was not happy with her married life, least with her husband who alongwith his brother wanted to kill her.

Feeling alone in the world and totally insecure at her in-laws family with utter frustration she killed her husband and took a revenge from him.

Her premorbid personality, with no control over her emotion and no ability to conform to social norm supported the case. She suffered from disturbed sleep and anxiety, reasons for which she did not disclose. That showed that there was something fishy in her personality. She was found to be in a state of endogenous depression.

CASE : BJ-5

Satya Devi a 33 years old Hindu (Punjabi Arora) Woman belonged to an urban background. She was educated upto primary level, but was unemployed and married to a driver. Her father was a fruit merchant. She came from a joint family and the total family income was around Rs.1500/-p.m. There were 9 members in the family which consisted of 3 males and 6 females. She was the eldest amongst children in the family. Both her mother and father were alive. Discipline in the family was normal.

She was convicted for killing an old woman who lived near her house. Her in-laws and her husband helped her by arranging an advocate. She was not given any legal aid. The trial went on for 11 months and 18 days. She was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on 11th November, 1987.

Satya faced a lot of difficulties during her childhood. Being the eldest child, she had a lot of responsibilities to share and had to do a great deal of domestic work. Her parents treated her well and her relations with other family members were also good.

Every one liked her because she obeyed and worked for everyone. She was never beaten nor she had any sibling quarrel. Her parents mutual relationship was not very healthy. As such they quarrelled quite often, But they never ignored her or discriminated against her for being a girl.

Though she started going to school at the age of five, she was not fond of her school. Teachers behaved well but never encouraged or helped her in her studies moreover she was also not interested in studies. As such, she left her studies in 5th class. No specific incident having a bearing on her occurred in her student life.

She got married at the age of 18 years and went to her in-laws soon after. Her parents did not give her much dowry, nor was any dowry demanded by her in-laws. It was an arranged marriage. She did not want to marry any specific boy of her choice. All members in her in-law's family were happy with her. Her father-in-law died before her marriage and mother-in-law died soon after her marriage. She had two elder sisters-in-law and one younger brother-in-law. She felt secure in her in-laws family. She never had a quarrel with any of the family members.

Her husband was well behaved and the young couple liked each other and were satisfied with their married life. Her husband provided her all those necessities which he could afford and never had any pre or post marital relationships. He always listened to her and favoured her whenever there was a quarrel in the family. Her husband had studied upto class 8 and did not have any bad habit except that he sometimes took drinks. She liked to live with her husband separately.

She did not confess her crime, and explained that some old rich woman lived near their house. She used to work for her and wash bottles in her house. Eight years before the incident, she had borrowed Rs.3000/- from her but she had paid back the money and left that job eight years ago. Because her children were very small.

One day police came to her house and arrested her alongwith two of her husband's friends who were present in her house at that time. One of my husband's friend had actually killed that old lady and he had confessed the crime also. But she was arrested under suspicion. She refuted the charge of killing that old lady and asserted that it was false. She did not repent for all that had happened. Given another chance Satya Devi would like to lead a decent life.

-: 191 :-

Satya suffered from a loss of appetite, headache, body aches. She did not have any such complaints earlier. However, she was worried about her husband and children and was prone to severe bouts of insomnia. The incident occurred in the month of January. By that time she had already finished her menstruation cycle. She felt tired and anxious at that time and had frequent body aches also. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was all his will.

Police did not behave well with her while she was in their custody. They used to slap and beat her. Jail authorities however, behaved nicely. She faced no problem in jail. She reported that food, bathing arrangement and privacy were quite reasonable in jail and she felt quite comfortable there.

PROFILE : BJ-5

The subject showed marginal productivity with average reaction time. Her approach was D dominating and the sequence was regular, which showed that the subject had practical intelligence. PI form level was found quite high which suggested good ego strength and wide areas of interest. Despite the fact, her maturity level was low. Her ability to conform to the social conventional norm was also found on the lower side. Experience balance tilted towards the intratensive side of personality. However her empathy with human environment was good and there was hardly any evidence of thought disturbance. Though she showed an ability of reality testing. However, her intellectual level was found below the mark as she had given more importance to the animal percepts. Though her Experience depicted her fantasy activity of emotional state but no discharge of these activities were shown.

Comments

Daughter of a fruit merchant and wife of a driver, Satya Devi was brought up in an urban atmosphere with little education.

-: 193 :-

Being the eldest child Satya had a rough and tough time during her childhood as she had to do all types of domestic work at home.

Her marital life was going on smoothly but suddenly one day police came and arrested her for murdering an old rich lady who lived near by. Satya had worked for that lady for sometime in the past and had borrowed some money from her which she said she had returned much earlier. But this apperared to be a big question mark.

Satya may not have initially intended to kill that lady but when the demand for returning the money disturbingly increased Satya might have planned to silence her.

But her Rorschach data did not reveal any such thing which could hold her responsible for crime. Satya was assessed to be having a good ego strength and practical intelligence. She was otherwise found to be normal but for her maturity level and ability to conform to social norm which were found to be low, she might have committed the crime. This further showed how much the craze for money can degenerate and demoralise a person.

CASE : BJ-6

Lali a 25 years old Ahir^{woman}/was convicted for killing her own daughter. After a trial that lasted for 5 months in which she was provided with a government lawyer she was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment. Lali was the second child of her parents and was uneducated and unemployed. She was married to an agricultural labourer. The young Ahir woman belonged to a large family which had as many as 14 members. The discipline in the family was very strict and as such the women were not allowed to even go out of the house.

Lali spent her childhood in great misery as her large family constantly faced suffering and economic difficulties. Being the eldest^{girl}/among the children she was constantly burdened with house hold chores and with her father ^{earning} / a paltry income it was always difficult for the family to make both ends meet. In spite the discrimination that Lali had to face as a girl within the family and also the^{mutual}/relationships between her parents being often strained and unhealthy, she was loved by her parents.

Married at the tender age of 14, the young Lali moved into the family of her husband two years after the wedding. Parents were too poor to give her any dowry and neither did her in-laws demand any. The marriage was entirely arranged among the parents and Lali had no desire to get married to any specific person of her own choice.

Apart from a quarrelsome elder sister-in-law (Jethani) who often humiliated and taunted the young bride for her poverty. She was treated normally by her husband's relatives. Lali was reported to have often suffered hysterical fits and her mental condition was not normal, while she was with her husband's family.

Lali's husband who was a matriculate, was fond of her and treated her well, but at times he did get quarrelsome and in such occasions was reported to have abused and beat her. The husband was said to have had no bad habits or any pre or post marital relationships. Though Lali seemed to have been content with her married life, her husband was dissatisfied and often confided with his relatives about his discontent with Lali.

Lali claims to have committed the crime (killing her own daughter) in a state of mental abnormality and said that she was unaware of what she was doing at that time. She confessed having committed the crime on her own and unabotted by anyone else, and repented for having done so. She would have perhaps wanted to live a decent life without poverty and suffering if given another chance.

She was suffering from loss of appetite, bodyache, headache and loss of sleep. And all these problems had cropped up after the crime. She felt worried and tense about her health and her family. She committed the crime in the month of December and by that time she had already completed her menstrual cycle. She got irritated, tired and restless at that time. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened, was will of God. She cursed her fate for that.

The police and jail authorities behaved well with her. She had no problems while she was in their custody, nor she had any problem with the jail authorities and their management. Food arrangement there was good and bathroom facilities were provided to the convicts.

-: 197 :-

PROFILE : BJ-6

The subject showed less productivity. Her reaction time was also prolonged. C suggested her inability to adjust in an unstructured situation. Intellectually she failed to relate her percepts. Her capability for testing the reality was inadequate. There was immaturity in her thinking process. Apart from this the subject also showed an inadequacy to channelize her energy. She showed an intense need for love and affection but at the same time lacked in empathy with the human environment. She had extratensive personality and had no depth in her affective state. She had poor fantasy life and had inability to enjoy her euphoric state. Though there was no marked thinking disturbance but she was found to be living in a dilemma where at one end she craved for love and affection and at the other, bothered little to share her emotions with others.

Comments

Born in an extremely poor family in a village and married to a labourer with no educational background and very strict discipline and discrimination in the family .

Lali had to pass off her childhood in a great economic crisis. Being the eldest girl in the family, she had to face the major brunt of it and suffer more.

Although her in-law's attitude towards her was normal but for her poverty and mental illness (frequent hysterical fits), She could not command as much respect as she desired. Her husband however, liked her though he abused and insulted her at times. She wanted to live separately with her husband but it was neither approved by her in-laws nor by her husband. She felt neglected. Even though the things were going on in a normal way. But suddenly, one day she killed her own daughter in a state of hysterical fit. She then, did not know as to what she was doing.

What happened to Lali? Why did she kill her own daughter, in an intriguing and difficult question which she herself did not like to answer. Consciously, she may not have wanted to kill her daughter.

But since she was mentally ill, she may have done it unconsciously under the spell of hysterical condition.

Her Rorschach data supported her case. She was immature in her thinking process and was incapable of testing the reality. She was found to be in a conflicting situation and was tense. She was observed to be living in a state of dilemma where at one end she craved for love and affection and at the other she hardly bothered to share her emotion with others.

CASE : BJ-7

As a consequence of parental separation Chavli a Bishnoi girl by birth, was brought up by her maternal grandfather ⁱⁿ a village. Chavli was an infant when her mother left her father and married another man. Thus deprived of parental affection very early in childhood, Chavli did not even remember who her parents were as she had never seen them.

Chavli's grandparents were very affectionate towards her and inspite being poor, Chavli spent her childhood modestly with them in a joint family that had 10 members (3 males, 4 females and 3 children).

At the age of 14 Chavli was married to a farmer. And a few months after the wedding she moved into the husbands family. At the time of her marriage, Chavli's grandfather gifted all the necessary household articles that the young couple would need, to establish an independent household. No dowry was demanded by her in-laws and the marriage was arranged and organised by her grandfather according to his own wishes.

--: 201 :-

Life in the husband's family was normal and Chavli was treated well by her husband's relatives. Her husband, an uneducated farmer by profession, was kind and affectionate and was a great support to Chavli. The couple had a normal married life and cared for each other.

At the age of 30, Chavli stood convicted for murder. After a trial lasting 14 months she was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment. The circumstances that led to the alleged crime were that two young men from Chavli's village raped her 14 years old niece. The girl (whose father was Chavli's brother-in-law) was assaulted by these men. Sensing the family in a helpless state, with the father deceased, these young men were reported to have taken advantage of the young girl. Finding the situation disgraceful and socially humiliating no one complained to the police. However, it was reported that two days later both the men who had raped the young girl were shot dead by some unknown persons. Chavli and her husband were arrested after a case was lodged with the police by the wives of the deceased rapists.

No one came forward to help them. She did not admit that she or her husband had committed the crime,

nor did she repent. However, she would like to lead a different type of life if she were to born again.

She had no physical problem but she was very much worried and felt tense about her small children because there was no one to look after them.

The incidence of crime was committed in the month of December. She had completed her menstrual cycle by that time. She felt restless and tired at that time. She believed in God and thought that in past life she might have done some bad deeds for which she was suffering.

The police behaved well while she was in their custody. They never created any problem for her. Jail authorities were also very nice to her. She reported that all convicts in jail got same type of food and treatment.

-: 203 :-

PROFILE : BJ-7

The subject had marginal productivity. Her associational productivity was limited with slow average time per response. Her approach was Di and the sequence was regular. Her percepts were simple and clear. She appeared to be a healthy normal person. Her organizational capacity and the capability for testing the reality were also good. In her emotional state she reacted only once with overt show of feeling. She could be labelled as an intelligent person, still she showed immaturity in her thinking process to some extent. By seeing her F+ which was quite high, her A percentage showed upward trend. Emotionally she was a deprived woman. She did not indulge herself in any gratifying imagery, not even in fantasy. She did not pursue pleasure at large in the world. Her EA was nearly zero. C suggested her incapability of understanding others and of deriving satisfaction from others.

Comments

Born in a poor family and brought up by maternal grandparents in a village (on account of parents separation) with no education and loss of parental love, Chavli suffered a lot on account of

deprivation, destitution and neglect during her childhood.

Her husband including her in-laws were nice persons and things were going on in a normal way. But the sudden death of her husband's elder brother changed the course of her life. Her brother-in-law had left behind five children including one fourteen years old daughter. Two goons of the same village had a bad eye on her. One day they molested the chastity of that girl. Being helpless, the family preferred to keep mum and silently pocketed the disgrace.

After two days of the incident those two goon brothers were shot dead and Chavli and her husband were implicated.

In view of her background, deprivations and denials of love Chavli may have conspired and killed those goons as a reaction to the humiliation done to her and the family.

Her Rorschach protocol suggested that she was a normal person. But the simultaneous presence of high "F" and "A" shows signs of depression. She was emotionally deprived and there was some immaturity in her thinking. On the basis of which it could be inferred that she might have committed the crime.

-: 205 :-

CASE : BJ-8

Munni Davi was a 45 years old house wife belonging to a potter's (Kumhar) family. She was uneducated but was married to a Homeopathic Doctor. She came from a rural background. Her father was an agriculturist. The total income of her family having 7 members was Rs. 1000/- p.m. There were two males, three females and two children in the family. Her parents were not alive. However, the discipline in the family was normal.

She was convicted for burning her daughter-in-law. The trial went on in the court for 8 months and she was finally sentenced to jail for 20 years on 12 November, 1984. The police was reported to have treated her well while she was in their custody. Her husband helped her by arranging a private advocate for her. Nothing specific happened during her childhood. However, she did not have normal and affectionate relationship with her mother, as the latter used to snub and beat her quite often. Her father loved her most but mother used to discriminate against her for being a girl. The Parent's mutual relations were however, healthy.

She got married at the age of 8 and went to her in-laws after two years. She reported that her in-laws

did not demand any dowry. But her father gave all necessary things to her in her marriage. Her husband was the only brother of her four sisters so he was liked and loved by all. After marriage she was also well accepted by her in-laws. Her mother-in-law was also good to her.

One thing which she did not like in her in-laws family was that her husband used to argue unnecessarily with his father. Her father-in-law wanted him to work in the field but her husband on the contrary, wanted to continue his studies further. But she never intervened in the matter. She had never picked up quarrels with the family members.

Her husband was a good natured person. Both liked each other after marriage and were satisfied. Her husband did not have any pre or post marital relationship with other women. He always listened to his mother and favoured her. However, he never misbehaved with ^{his} wife. He had no bad habits. He came home in time and she was satisfied with her married life. She liked to stay with her in-laws in the joint family.

which explain criminality are:

1. Biological Theory
2. Psychological Theory and
3. Familial Theory

1. Biological Theory: Lombroso & Fererro

The oldest and the most popular theory in the field is the biological theory which attempts to explain criminality in a scientific manner through an examination of individual deviant. Ceasare Lombroso an Italian is said to be the father of this theory. He initially started his work on the male criminals. Deeply impressed by Charles Darwin (who moved the world by his theory of evolution - in which he stated that men are descendants of apes), Lombroso said that the Criminals are born and the root cause of the criminality lies in their biological make up. He identified certain physical characteristics or anomalies in the criminals which differentiated them from the non-criminals. These characteristics were said to be the characteristics of a primitive men. And the criminals who were having such characteristics were considered atavistic or biological throw backs relegated to sub-human level. These characteristics which he identified in the male criminals were:

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incident occurred in the month of June. She had her menopause by that time. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was the will of God. She cursed her fate for all that had happened.

The police did not create any problem for her when she was in their custody. They were not strict to her. Nothing specific happened while she was there with them. She never faced any problem with jail authorities and their management.

--: 209 :-

PROFILE : BJ - 8

The Subject's productivity range was less. The associational ability was limited and her reaction time per card was higher. There was also less clarity in her response pattern. She perceived more of body parts than the whole of it. Her approach was D domination but at the expense of W. She had poor organizational ability and tried to perceive the thing in split manner. Intellectually, her capabilities for testing the reality was good but she lacked ability in conforming to the social conventional norms. Emotionally she represented both sides that is, state of well being as well as a state of dysphoria. She gave a totally mixed picture because she switched from state to movement suddenly. In other words, she had inability of affect and had very less control over her emotions. Personality wise, she was more an extravert than introvert.

Comments

Born in a village in Potter's family with an ill treatment, snubbing, beating and discrimination by mother Munni Devi Carried forward her bitter experiences and feelings of resentment to her in-laws.

-: 210 :-

Munni Devi might have projected these feelings on her daughter-in-law who was having a tumour and regular fits. Perhaps Munni Devi may have considered her daughter-in-law as a useless person and felt disgusted towards her. Moreover mother-in-law vs daughter-in-law mutual intrigues, contempt and jealousies might have as well served as a predisposing factor and paved the way for crime.

Her Rorschach data revealed that Munni Devi lacked ability to conform to social norms. Her emotions got fluctuated. She was considered to be an extravert. Her record further indicated certain symptoms which suggested her of being a psychopathic personality.

-: 211 :-

CASE: BJ-9

Shakuntala, a 44 year old Jat woman came from an urban background. She studied upto 9th class and was married to a clerk in the Ministry of Defence. She was a house wife and was Unemployed. The total income of her family having 11 members was Rs. 2500/- p.m. She was the eldest child in her family. And the discipline in the house was very strict.

She was convicted for burning her younger sister-in-law (Husband's younger brother's wife). Her husband helped her while she was in police custody. He arranged an advocate for her and gave Rs. 40,000/- for her bail. The trial, in the court lasted for 2 years. But she was finally sentenced to jail for 20 years on November 11, 1985.

She spent her childhood in great comfort and affluence. Her father was a rich man and never had any financial problems. She was the only sister of her brothers so, everybody loved her. Her parents never discriminated against her for being a girl and was never illtreated. Her parent's mutual relationship^{was}/also very healthy. Her father loved her most.

She went to school when she was 4 years old. She liked to go to school. She was very good at studies and always stood first in her class. She was very much interested in continuing her studies. But she had to discontinue it due to her marriage. She wished to pursue her studies even after marriage but her in-laws did ^{not} / allow her to do so. No specific incidence occurred during her school life.

She got married at the age of 13 and went to her in-laws after two years. Her father gave many articles as dowry in her marriage. It was an arranged marriage. She did not want to marry any specific person of her choice. Her father-in-law was a nice person but her mother-in-law was a very clever and talkative lady. However, she never quarrelled with her as she lived separately.

Her husband was a nice, simple hearted person. He provided her all the necessities of life and had no extra marital relationship. He obeyed his father and always listened to him. He was well educated. He passed his M.A. and also took up the competitive exams. He was a well disciplined gentle man, and Shakuntala was fully satisfied with her married life.

She lived in Delhi with her husband and her children, while her in-laws lived at Sonapat (Haryana). When her father-in-law retired, she along with her family went to sonapat to live with her in-laws for some time.

One day her father-in-law had a quarrel with her sister-in-law (Devrani) over the question of property. She intervened in the dispute and asked her sister-in-law not to behave like that with her father-in-law. After an hour her sister-in-law went upstairs and set herself on fire and died. The police came and arrested her alongwith her two children. Her children were released on bail after a week but she was not bailed out.

She did not admit her crime. But her mother-in-law had some suspicion about her. So she went against her and gave the evidence that her elder daughter-in-law (the convict) had some personal jealousy against her sister-in-law so she may have set the younger daughter-in-law on fire. She refuted the charge and emphatically asserted that it was false.

If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead a different type of life where such type of false allegations would not be levelled against her. She was not suffering from any physical ailments. But she was found to be worried about her husband and children.

The incidence of crime occurred in the month of October. She was in a state of menopause at that time. She believed in God and held that whatever had happened was the will of God. She blamed her fate for all that had happened.

She did not face any problem while she was in police custody. They never troubled her nor did the Jail authorities. However. She found that the jail warden sometimes used ^{to} snub to the convicts without any reason. But she did not face any problem in jail. The arrangement in jail was O.K. All convicts got the same type of food and treatment there.

--: 215 :-

PROFILE : BJ-9

The subject had Marginal productivity range, her associational productivity was also average. Her approach was D dominating and the sequence was regular which showed shrunken ego boundaries and and less regard for the conventional (P). Qualitative analysis revealed that the subject had regressive tendency toward anal stage and her thinking level was was not fully mature (A). Her experience balance showed that she was an introvert type of personality. Emotionally, she was deprived. Her fatasy was rich but she could not gratify her imagery. Meaning thereby, there was no width and breadth of her emotional state. She showed a dysphoric emotional state but at the same time, did not try to overcome the same.

Comments

Born and brought up in a well to do family educated and married to a Clerk, Shankutala had a good time both during her childhood and married life.

Shakuntala was intellingent and good at studies. She wanted to continue her studies even after marriage but was not allowed to do so. Her father-in-law was a nice person but her mother-in-law was a clever and talkative lady.

Once after the retirement of her father-in-law she had to go to her in-laws to live with them for some time. There her sister-in-law (husband's younger brother's wife) picked up a row with her father-in-law over the question of property. When Shakuntala intervened and asked her sister-in-law not to behave like that with her father-in-law, her sister-in-law went upstairs, set herself on fire and committed suicide. Shakuntala was suspected and arrested by the police alongwith her two children. Did Shakuntala commit this crime? If yes, why did she do it?

Perhaps Shakuntala wanted to grab all the property of ^{her} father-in-law and did not like to share it with her sister-in-law who had equal share in the property. Since her sister-in-law was standing in her way, She might have thought to eliminate her. Mutual jealousy in between the two sisters-in-law and money could be the motive of the crime.

The Rorschach data supported the case. Shakuntala was found to be an introvert personality however, her thinking was not mature. She had emotional deprivation and had little regard for social convention. She might have committed the crime, although her story seemed convincing in the light of whatever facts are available.

-: 217 :-

CASE : BJ-10

Sukhvinder Kaur, a 24 years old sikh woman, belonged ^{to} a rural background. She was uneducated and unemployed. She was married to a landlord who had around 32-33 Kilas of land. Her father was a landlord and had a large family of 5 men, 4 women and 2 children. There was a strict discipline in the house and every body was required to maintain that discipline.

She was convicted for murdering her husband. The police did not trouble her while she was in their custody. Her parents helped her by arranging an advocate for pleading her case. She did not get any legal aid from the government. The trial went on for 7 months and she was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on 8th July, 1982.

She passed off her childhood very happily. Her father was very strict. So all brothers and sisters were scared of him. Still, the parents were nice to her. She was never beaten. She had many a times a sibling quarrels. Whenever her younger brothers and sisters did not listen to her, she used to snub them. Her parents' mutual relationship was good yet they had quarrels at times. Her elder

brother loved her most. She was never discriminated against for being a girl.

She got married at the age of 19 and went to her in-laws soon after. Her parents spent Rs.80,000/- in her marriage and gave all the necessary things to her, though there was no demand from her in-laws. Her marriage was an arranged one and she had no one in mind for the purpose. Her in-laws were nice to her. However, her three elder sisters-in-law (Husband's sisters) loved her very much. Her husband was the only brother of his three sisters. Her mother-in-law also liked her. But her elder sister-in-law's husband was a bad charactered man. He had ^{bad} eye on her. His intention was bad. As such she was very much scared of him.

Her husband was of a gentle nature and was nice to her. She also liked him much. Both loved each other and were satisfied. He provided her all comforts whatever he could. He did not have any bad habits except drinking and never had any pre or post marital relations with other women. He always came home in time and never illtreated her. ^{She} / liked to stay in a joint family with her in-laws.

She did not confess her crime and asserted that the punishment given to her was not just. Her sister-in-law's husband gave a false evidence as a result of which she was convicted. She narrated the details of the incident that one day her husband consumed a lot of liquor and came home in a drunken state. This disturbed his stomach and caused a lot of pain in it. He was hospitalised and there he died. Prior to his admission into the hospital and when he was at home she had given him one tablet of Baralgon (a painkilling medicine). On that basis her sister-in-law's husband alleged that she had given her husband a poisonous tablet. Therefore, she was convicted. The charge was false and fabricated. As such she had no repentance for that. However, if she were to born again as a woman she would like to lead any other life.

She was not suffering from any physical ailment. But she felt tense and was worried about her future. The incidence of crime occurred in the month of July. She did not exactly remember her menstrual cycle as it was four years back. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened

was the will of God. The Police was not strict or rude to her and did not create any problem for her. No specific incident occurred while she was in their custody. The Jail authorities also behaved well with her. And never troubled her. Rather, they were helpful. Food arrangement was good and rest all other facilities were provided there. There was a T.V. to watch and a teacher every day visited the jail to teach the uneducated convicts.

-: 221 :-

PROFILE : BJ-10

The subject was less productive with \bar{C} and average reaction time. Her approach was D W suggestive of having practical intelligence. The sequence was methodical. The percepts seen by the subject depicted insufficient ego boundaries. There was a psychic bleeding as the subject expressed the morbid and decaying thoughts. Her thinking level was found immature. The qualitative analysis revealed that the subject had uncontrolled impulsiveness in the form of hostility. Her empathy with human environment was poor, and her ability to conform to the social conventional norm was found to be low. Experience balance revealed that she was having extratensive personality traits.

The prominent features of the subject were:

- Inability to adjust under unstructured situations
- Insufficient ego boundaries
- Immaturity in thinking level
- Loss of reality contact
- Uncontrolled impulsiveness
- Lack of empathy \bar{C} with human environment.

Comments

Born in a landlord family of a sikh in a village with no education but with a strict discipline, Sukhvinder Kaur passed off her childhood happily.

Sukhvinder had a smooth life at her-in-laws. But one of her brothers -in-law (Husband's sisters's Husband) had a bad eye on her. One day her husband consumed a lot of liquor. As a result he died. Her brother-in-law who already had bad intention against her got her involved in the case and blamed her for murder.

Sukhvinder could have resisted the advances of her brother-in-law and told everything to her husband. But in that case her husband could have taken it seriously and suspected Sukhvinder. She in turn could have felt very bad. Instead of doing that she possibly drugged her husband which resulted in murder.

Her Rorschach data supported the case. Uncontrolled impulsiveness, lack of empathy, immaturity of thinking and loss of reality orientation tended to prove that her version was not true. Her irrational decision to kill her husband might be due to her disregard for social norms besides lack of empathy, immaturity and loss of contact with reality.

-: 223 :-

CASE : BJ-11

Ram Piyari, a 65 years old Hindu Jat woman came from a rural background. She was uneducated and unemployed. But she was married to a landlord who had fifty Bighas of land. She had a large family having a total of 19 persons (6males, 7 females and 6 children). Her husband had another wife and children, who lived with them. Her parents had already expired. However, the discipline in her family was very strict.

She was convicted for murdering her husband's second wife and her three son (total 4). The Police behaved very badly while she was in their custody. The lady police used to beat her despite the fact that her daughter was in police. She tried to take the help of law and an advocate was also reported to have been engaged for her trial but all in vain. The trial went on for one and half years and she was finally put to jail for 20 years on 7th September, 1983.

She passed off her childhood in a very nice manner. Her father had a large property so they were financially well off. Her parents were very nice to her and she had a very healthy relationship

with all the members of family. She was never discriminated against for being a girl. Her mother liked her most. She was a nice lady and hardly had any quarrel with her father.

She got married at the age of 9 and went to join her in-laws after 3 years. Her father gave her a good dowry including a piece of land though her in-laws never demanded any. It was an arranged marriage. She did not have any one in mind to marry. The people at her-in-laws house were nice to her. Her mother-in-law had already expired and her husband was the only child in the family. Her father-in-law was a very nice man and he invariably treated her well.

But her husband was not a good man. He had many bad habits which she never liked. She had no complaint against her in-laws but she was never satisfied with her husband's behaviour. He frequently quarrelled with her. In the beginning he liked her and she also liked him and both got adjusted with each other. But after some time he ^{stopped} caring for her. Since he had extra marital relationship with other women. She felt much tense and worried about that. But he hardly bothered for her

feelings. He did not even listen to his father's advice and never cared to realise his family responsibilities. He was not only uneducated but highly irresponsible as well. Besides, he was a habitual drunkard and a short tempered person. Under the spell of alcoholic effect he used to abuse and beat her. He was perhaps a hypersexual person and married again after 5-6 years of her marriage. He was never to be satisfied and married again third time just before few months of the incidence at the age of 63 years. She felt very much jealous of his talking to other women and wanted to live separately with her husband. But he never agreed to that. She was not at all satisfied with her married life because her husband never cared for her and took the responsibility of her and her children.

She was her husband's first wife and had 4 sons and two daughters. Her husband's second wife had three children, i.e., two sons and one daughter and at the age of 63 years her husband brought another woman to her house and kept her as his wife. That woman was already married and had grown up sons. She belonged to a neighbouring village. Her sons used to come frequently and ask her mother to return but she remained in her house.

One morning she along with her two sons was working in the fields. In another field the second and third wife of her husband and second wife's two sons were also working. All the four persons were murdered in the field. She and her two sons were suspected to have committed that murder. Her husband and the two sons of her husband's third wife deposed against her and her sons. Her father-in-law and his younger brother were in her favour but their evidence was not taken into account. She refuted the charge and said that the punishment given to her was not just. She did not have any feeling of guilt. However, if she were to born again as a woman she would like to lead a different type of life.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental problem. However, she was worried about her daughter and youngest son. The incidence of crime occurred in the month of June and she had already come to the stage of menopause by that time. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was the will of God. The Police did not behave well with her. The lady police ill treated her. But the jail authorities never troubled her. The food and other arrangements were good in jail.

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PROFILE : BJ-11

The subject had disintegration in her intellectual functioning. She had defective concentration. She carried out the same response in three cards, i.e., I, VI, VII which showed her intellectual rigidity (inability to shift). Her capability for reality testing was poor and she did not conform to the conventional norms.

She was found to be out of touch with the reality and appeared to be insensitive to events that normally excited others. There was an inner revolt in herself. Her overall reality testing (F+%) was inadequate for adjustments. She made very limited use of her mental energies in grasping ^{the} pictorial cues. Instead of perceiving the whole she put more emphasis on the parts of the body. Overall she failed to take the gestalt view.

Keeping in view of her data, she manifested clear thought disturbances which is usually found in schizophrenics.

She perhaps suffered from schizophrenia having thought disorders and had no realization of, consequences of her crime.

Comments

Born in the family of a rich farmer in village and married to a landlord, Ram Piyari's childhood was quite comfortable and peaceful.

But her married life was just the reverse of it. It was full of worries and tensions. Her husband was a debauch and had all sorts of bad habits. His addiction to alcohol, short temperedness, abusing, beating and womanising above all, made her life a hell. At the age of 63, he brought a third woman and kept her in his house as a wife.

One morning, the second and third wife of her husband together with the two sons of second wife were killed in the field and Ram Piyari alongwith two of her sons was arrested.

Jealousy on the part of Ram Piyari against other woman, oppressive and disgraceful behaviour of her husband, and the greed of Ram Piyari's sons of usurping the property of their father and not allowing it to be shared by the sons of second and third wife were clear cut motives which led Ram Piyari to commit these murders.

The Rorschach data revealed that Ram Piyari was having a thought disorder and was suffering from Schizophrenia. Her ability for testing the reality and conforming to social norm was poor. She became emotionally insensitive. Her personality appeared to be a seething cauldron of revolt.

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CASE : BJ-13

Sharbati a 50 year old Kumhar woman belonged to an urban background. She was neither educated nor employed. She was married to a labourer on daily wages. Total income of her family was around Rs.600/- p.m. She was having a family of six members (3 males and 3 females). She was the third born in the family. Her parents were alive and Discipline in her family was normal.

She was convicted for bride burning. The trial went on in the court for 10 months and on 27th June, 1987, she was finally sent to jail for 20 years. Her brothers, her husband alongwith her in-laws tried to get her released on bail but of no avail. Police did not behave well with her while she was in their custody.

She passed off her childhood nicely. She was loved by all family members including parents and was not at all beaten. Her parents mutual relationship was also cordial but they had quarrels at times over small domestic matters. Her father loved her most and never discriminated against her for being a girl.

She got married at the age of 10 and went to her in-laws after 2 years. Her parents gave all those things to her in marriage which they could afford. Her father gave one bicycle, 2000 rupees and one wrist watch as dowry, although her in-laws did not demand any thing from him.

Her father-in-law was not alive at the time of her marriage. So her husband was the eldest male member in his family. It was an arranged marriage. She did not want to marry any other person of her choice. All her in-laws were nice to her and she never had any quarrel with them. She felt secure living there. Her husband was also very nice to her. Both liked each other and were satisfied with their life. Her husband provided her all those facilities which he could. He listened to her as well as his mother and supported those who were right. He was educated upto 8th class and was of a calm and composed nature. He had no bad habits like drinking, gambling, womanising etc and used to come home in time.

She did not confess her crime and asserted that the charge was false. She informed that her elder daughter-in-law used to stay with her since her son

was working in some other city. She never had any quarrel with her daughter-in-law. But her parents would come and insist that their daughter will live with her husband (convict's son) only and not with her in-laws. Her son pleaded that since his job was new, it would not be possible for him to keep his wife along with him.

One morning her daughter-in-law left her house and went away some where. All family members got worried. After some time she was found with one of her relative. Her husband (convict's son) snubbed her by saying that she had brought disgrace to the entire family. Her daughter-in-law by way of reaction got annoyed with her husband and went away to her parents house. After a few days, she came back at her own initiative and stayed with them quite peacefully for 2-3 days.

One early morning Sharbati saw smoke coming out of the room in which her daughter-in-law was putting up. At the same time her neighbours also came running and told her about the incident. They rushed inside and found her burning. She was taken to the hospital but could not be saved. In her dying declaration she stated that her mother-in-law (the convict) had burnt her and was responsible for what had happened.

It was because of her daughter-in-law's statement that she was convicted otherwise the charge was false. If she were to reborn as woman she would like to lead a different type of life.

She was suffering from loss of appetite, bodyaches and headaches. But earlier she did not have problem of this kind. She felt very much restless and worried about her family. As a result she could not sleep properly.

The incidence of crime occurred in the month of November. She had already come to the stage of monopause by that time. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was done by Him. The police behaved very well, while she was in their custody. They were not very strict to her. The Jail authorities were also good to her and she did not find any problems with them and their management.

PROFILE : BJ-13

The productivity range of the subject was very less. However, the associational productivity was good. Her approach was D (dominating) and the sequence was fixed. The average time taken by her was delayed. The percepts given though simple but were of good quality. Intellectually she had the capability for testing the reality (F+). However, she showed less empathy with human environment. Although she gave good responses yet she picked up more animal responses and followed a rigid pattern. She perceived more shaded responses which suggested the dysphoric state of her mind. Her EB was Zero. She did not care to act out her feelings nor did she turn inward.

Clinically, she gave a picture of depressive disorder.

Comments

Born in the family of a Potter in a city and married to a labourer however, Sharbati's childhood and married life was almost comfortable and peaceful.

But one critical incident changed the course of her life. Persuaded by the parents and to exert a pressure on in-laws, just to live with her husband at the place of his service, Sharbati's daughter-in-law one day left her house without informing any one and stayed with one of her relatives. On being questioned by her son, her daughter-in-law by way of reaction, went away to her parents' house.

After sometime her daughter-in-law returned and immolated herself. And Sharbati being mother-in-law was arrested for bride burning. Since her daughter-in-law had brought a disrepute and lowered down the prestige of the family by deserting her house without permission. Sharbati might have felt bad and abetted and committed the crime.

According to Rorschach results, she was found to be in a depressive state. She had loss of appetite and sleep, anxiety, restlessness and several other psychosomatic problems. Her Rorschach Protocol and her present psychosomatic state supported the presence of her mentally abnormal state. But it was not clear whether all these factors led her to commit the crime. These developments could be the reaction to her conviction.

CASE : BJ-14

Pataso, a 50 year old Jat woman belonged to a rural area. She was a house wife and was married to a farmer. Her father was also a farmer and was having 30 acres of Land. She had a family of six members with strict discipline. Her parents were alive.

She was convicted for murdering her daughter-in-law. The police behaviour was not good. Her husband arranged for her bail. The trial went on for 6 months and 15 days in the court and she was finally sentenced to imprisonment for 20 years on March, 1987.

Her childhood was quite comfortable because her family was well off. Parents behaved nicely. They had good mutual relations also. However, her father was a very aggressive person. Her mother feared him but loved her most and she was never discriminated against her for being a girl. Her grandmother however had such feelings and treated her discriminately.

She was married at the age of 9 and went to her in-laws after 2 years. Her parents gave whatever they could in her marriage. Though her in-laws did not demand any. She was married according to the wishes of her parents.

Her in-laws treated her nicely. They were also satisfied with her behaviour. Her mother-in-law liked her and cared for her. She felt secure at her in-laws.

Her husband behaved nicely. He liked her and she also liked and loved him. He provided all possible comforts to her. She was satisfied with him and he with her. Her husband had no extra marital relations with other woman. He always obeyed his father and took his favour. He studied up to class 8. Though he was not an addict yet he had occasional drinks. He used to come home in time and she was satisfied with her married life. However she wanted to live seperately with her husband.

Her brother-in-law (jeth) had no issue. So he adopted her eldest son who was in the Army. Her daughter-in-law was staying with her elder sister-in-law (jethani) at some other village. One day a man came from that village and informed her that her daughter-in-law was ill. She went there in Jeep to see her. But on reaching there she came to know that the daughter-in-law had already died on account of burning. She did not know how it happened because at that time she was not there. However, she was arrested by the police on false allegation.

She refuted the charge and reported that the lawyer cheated her and got the statement from her that she had burnt her daughter-in-law. There were several witnesses in her favour to prove her innocence. But these were ignored. She emphatically asserted that she reached there when her daughter-in-law was already dead but no one listened to her. Her in-laws including her husband alongwith her parents tried their best for her bail but it was not granted. She did not confess the crime, and added that the charge was false and concocted.

She did not suffer from any ailment but she was found worried about her children. The crime was commied in October. By that time she already had her menopause. She belived in religion and thought that whatever had happened was all due to the will of God. Though the behaviour of police was not good, yet no incident occured when she was in their custody. The behaviour of Jail authorities was however good. Rest everything was O.K. in jail.

PROFILE : BJ-14

The subject had disintegration in her intellectual functioning. She reported her sensory experience without conceptualizing it. She manifested incapability of testing the reality and conforming to the conventional norms. Her productivity range was limited and sequence was totally irregular. She stuck to one particular thing time and again which indicated loss of ideas and rigidity in her thinking. She did not see the human figure ^{none} as/of them were P. In her thought content she did not participate in the social formalities. Keeping in view her overall profile she could be a case of either organic brain disorder or of schizophrenia.

Comments

Born in the family of a farmer and married also to a farmer, Pataso's life was going on smoothly but the sudden death of her daughter-in-law got her trapped in a case of murder and put her behind the bars for 20 years.

Pataso had given her eldest son in adoption to her elder brother-in-law (husband's elder brother) who had no issue. Her son was in the army and her daughter-in-law

was staying with her elder sister-in-law (Husband's elder brother's wife) in a separate village.

One day she received a message that her daughter-in-law was ill. But her daughter-in-law had already died due to burning before she reached there. What happened to her daughter-in-law? Why did she die? Was it a suicide or a cold blooded murder? No one knew about that but pataso was held guilty and sent to jail. Was pataso's personality that of a murderer? Or it was a simple case of mother-in-law Vs daughter-in-law intrigues and hostilities which turned worse?

Her Rorschach data revealed that she was having thought disorder. She could not keep herself in touch with reality and think of its consequences. She could be a case of schizophrenia or of an organic brain disorder. In the light of Rorschach responses she might have committed the crime. But schizophrenics are not generally found to commit murder. Something is hidden in the case.

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CASE : BJ-15

Balbir Kaur a 40 years old sikh woman belonged to a rural background. She was married to a Granthi in the Gurudwara. She was uneducated and unemployed. Her father was a Zamindar. Total income of her family was Rs.1000/- p.m. She was having a family of 5 members, (3 males and 2 females) she was youngest in the family. She had already lost her father but her mother was alive. Discipline in her family was normal.

She was convicted for murdering her husband. The case was tried in the court for 6 months and on 7th may, 1985. She was finally put to jail for 20 years. The police behaved well with her while she was in their custody.

She passed off her childhood in miseries and poverty. Her father had died before her birth and her mother had to take care of the entire family. As such she was not in a position to bring up all the children well. She was the youngest and the only sister of her four brothers. So all the family members were very nice to her and so was she. She was never ill treated or beaten during the childhood. Rather, she was loved by all but most by her eldest brother. She was never discriminated against for being a girl.

She got married at the age of 15 and was sent to her in-laws a year after. Her mother gave her all necessary things in her marriage, though her in-laws had no demand. It was an arranged marriage, as she did not have any other person in view.

Her in-laws were nice to her, and were satisfied with her behaviour. As such she never picked up a row with them. But one thing she did not like there was that her elder brother-in-law (jeth) and her husband used to very often quarrel with each other. Though her husband devoted most of his time in Gurudwara he treated her well. He provided her almost all the necessities of life and never had any extra marital relationship with other women. He always listened to his father and obeyed him. He studied upto matric, and was of a very gentle nature. He did not have any bad habits like drinking, gambling, etc. She was very much satisfied with her married life. However, she wanted to live separately with her husband and not in a joint family.

She narrated the event of crime as under. There were two political groups in her village. One wanted to retain her husband as a Granthi, and the other group wanted to appoint some other man of their choice. The Panchayat people were in her husband's favour. The

conflict got aggravated. As a result, her husband was murdered. She and her cousin brother (a 17 years old boy) who lived with her for studies were accused and involved in this murder.

She stated that they were falsely implicated in the crime and added that if she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead a different type of life. She believed in God and held that whatever had happened was all His will.

She was not suffering from any physical ailment. However, she was very much worried about her children who were very small then. The incident of crime occurred in the month of December. She did not remember the date of her menstrual cycle.

The police behaved well with her and even helped her when she was in their custody. The jail authorities were also nice to her. She never had any problem with them. Food was good and there was facility of bathroom, privacy, etc. She further added that the prisoners were also allowed to write letters to their relatives and were helped with some money.

PROFILE : BJ-15

The subject had marginal productivity. Her approach was D dominating and the sequence was regular. Intellectually she gave a conflicting picture. On one hand, she (on the basis of her farm level) showed good intelligence but on the other, as is evident by her very High Percentage, she gave the impression of being a feeble minded person. She had a capability of testing the reality but she lacked in following social, conventional norms. Her empathy with human environment was marginal, but free from stress. However, she had a tendency for disruptive activity with slight provocation. Emotionally, she was a deprived person. Her EB was zero which allowed to infer that she had incapability of understanding others emotionally and of having mutual satisfaction from others. She did not even indulge herself in fantasy to satisfy her imageries.

Comments

Born in the family of a sikh, in a village and married to a Granthi (who reads Holy Script of Guru Granth Sahib at Gurudwara) and loss of father, Balbir Kaur had to pass through poverty and deprivations during her childhood. Her mother, a poor lady, could hardly make up the loss of her father and maintain the family.

Balbir Kaur's married life was going on smoothly. except some occasional quarrels in the family between her husband and his elder brother-in-law. In view of this, she had thought of living separately alongwith her husband. But her desire was not fulfilled, as something more disastrous was likely to happen.

There were two rival groups in her village. One was in favour of appointing her husband as 'Granthi', and the other was opposed to it. Her husband was sandwiched between the two and fell prey to the evil designs of political intrigues. He was killed and she alongwith her cousin brother was charged with murder.

Her story seemed to be convincing. But it did not find much support from her Rorachach data. Although her mental state cannot be described to be to abnormal, she did not appear to be free from mental problems. She had below normal intelligence and was emotionally deprived. She had the capability of testing the reality but lacked in abiding by the social conventional norm. She had a tendency for disruptive activity. On the basis of which it could be inferred that she might be involved in the crime. Indirectly, if not directly as she herself reported that she was of a calm, composed and calculative mind.

CASE : BJ-18

Kalawati, a 20 years old Hindu (Mali) woman belonging to an urban background was uneducated and unemployed. Her husband was a Gardner and her deceased father was also the same. Her family was joint and had 9 members of which 6 were males and 3 females. She was the second eldest in the family. Discipline in the family was normal.

She was convicted for murdering her brother-in-law (sister's husband). The police behaved very badly with her. Her husband helped her while she was in their custody and arranged an advocate to get her released on bail. The case was tried in the court for 7 months and on 11 June, 1987 she was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

She passed off her childhood in an acute poverty and difficulties. Her parents including the family members were nice to her and her attitude towards them was also equally nice and healthy. Her parents mutual understanding and relationship was also smooth. Although they had some quarrel sometimes but these were over small domestic matters. Her elder brother loved her most. But her mother sometimes cursed her for being a girl.

She was married at the age of 10 and went to her in-laws soon after. Her parents gave very few things in her marriage as they were very poor. Besides, her in-laws had also not demanded any thing. It was an arranged marriage and she did not have any specific person in view.

Her in-laws were nice to her. Her husband was only brother of his two sisters. Her both sisters-in-law were already married. Her mother-in-law liked her and she never had any quarrel with her or her in-laws. Nothing specific happened when she was with her in-laws.

Her husband was a very soft spoken person. He was nice to her and liked her. Both were satisfied with each other. Though her husband was poor he could not provide her all the necessities of life yet, he listened to all the members of family and tried to support particularly those who were right. He did not have any bad habits like drinking gambling and womanising, nor he ever misbehaved with her. However it was quite strange that she liked to stay separately with her husband.

She did not confess the crime and said that justice had not been done to her. She narrated the incidence that her younger sister's husband (jija) was very bad person. He used to give a lot of trouble to her sister. He filed a petition of divorce against her sister and

after dispossessing her of all her belongings he sent her to her mother's house. Since her mother was poor and destitute of all the resources, she married her sister to some other man. When her jija (sister's first husband) came to know of it, he went to her mother's house and asked her sister to go along with him. When her mother refused to send her daughter with him he got furious and started quarrelling. But when he faced resistance he went away.

While her Jija was going back home he was murdered on the way and she along with her sister and her mother were suspected of having a hand in that murder. She (the convict) was arrested because she was at her mother's house at that time. She pleaded not guilty and added that she was ^{falsely} implicated. However, she would like to lead a different kind of life if she were to be reborn as a woman.

She was suffering from loss of sleep, loss of appetite, bodyaches, tensions and headache. Earlier she had no such troubles.

The incidence of crime occurred in the month of December and she was pregnant at that time. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was the will of God. She did not curse her fate for all that had happened.

The police behaviour was more than strict. They were not only strict to her but also used to beat her. She aborted her child on account of their torture. The authorities in jail were however considerate and co-operative. She did not face any problem there. Food arrangement was good and every type of facility for example (bathroom, privacy, etc.) were available there.

PROFILE : BJ-18

The subject had poor productive range. Her approach was D dominating and W was suppressed. Intellectually, she was incapable of testing the reality. She had poor conformity as well. She had poor self-image, and was found to be critical of herself. Nevertheless, she was imaginative and lived in the world of fantasy. She was found ^{under} gloomy state with self punitiveness and fear of punishment. She manifested introversion, passive withdrawal, painful affect, intensity and personal dynamics. It was her fantasy that had introverted her feelings and thoughts. She showed her passivity in the shaded responses, i.e, clouds. Her painful affect was more visible when she reacted to the last card where she perceived a person hanging.

Comments

Born in the poor family of a Mali (gardner) and brought up with discrimination and poverty, loss of father at early age, Kalawati grew up with a lot of stress and strain.

Kalawati's married life however was smooth and satisfactory. But the married life of her younger sister was full of discordance and unhappiness at which she was painfully disturbed. Her sister's husband was a cruel

and crooked person. He used to torture her sister. One day, he turned her sister out of his house and divorced her.

Her mother being a poor lady could not maintain her daughter and married her to some other man. Having come to know of it, her Jija (sister's husband) grew furious and went to her mother's house. He asked her sister to join with him. On being refused he started quarrelling and created a scene. On having met with stiff resistance, her Jija went away. Going back home, on way, he was killed and the allegation came on Kalawati who happened to be with her mother that day.

Kalawati's Rorschach data supported her conviction as she was found to be incapable of testing the reality and conforming to social norm. She had poor self image and was critical of herself to the extent of self negation. She was imaginative and lived in the world of fantasy. She was gloomy, selfpunitive and had fear of punishment. She revealed these feelings of guilt but tried to conceal them. Her depressive feelings however, were more marked. Her loss of sleep and appetite, tension and headache etc. indicated that she might have committed the crime.

CASE : BJ-19

Leelavati, a 50 years old Brahmin woman belonged to an urban back ground. She was uneducated houswife and had four children. Her husband was a business man and and earned about Rs.3000/-p.m. Her family had 8 members (4 men and 4 women). She was eldest among the children. Her parents were not alive. Discipline was normal in her family.

She was convicted for bride burning. The police was lenient to her while she was in their custody. The trial went on in the court for 6 months and on May 2, 1985 she was finally sentenced to jail for 5 years.

She passed off her childhood quite comfortably. She was the only sister of her three brothers so she was loved most. Her parents were very nice to her. One of her aunties (father's widow sister) used to live with them. She loved her very much. Her parents had a very healthy mutual understanding. They never discriminated against her for being a girl.

She got married at the age of 12 and went to join her in-laws after 2½ years. Her father gave a number of articles in her marriage, though her in-laws never demanded any thing. It was an arranged marriage. She did not have any specific person in view to marry. She

informed that at that time it was not expected from a girl to have any choice. Her father-in-law had died much before her marriage. Rest of her in-laws were nice to her and were satisfied also with her behaviour. She started living separately with her husband so she never had to quarrel with any of her in-laws.

Her husband's attitude towards her was quite positive. Both liked each other and were satisfied with their married life. He provided her almost all the necessities of life. He never had any bad habits like gambling, drinking and womanising. He was a good natured person and was soft spoken.

She did not confess the crime and informed that the charge of bride burning levelled against her was totally false. She narrated the event that her son got married two months back. Since her family members liked the daughter-in-law so they did not have any specific demand of dowry. Her daughter-in-law's father was a police inspector. He used to frequently visit her house, fully drunk and abuse them. They did not like all these things. So one day she confided in her daughter in-law in this connection and asked her not to allow her father to come to their house. She could not bear the insult of her father and committed suicide.

Her elder brother-in-law (Jeth) and her brothers helped her while she was in police custody and her husband tried to get her released on bail. She had no feeling of guilt as she had not committed the crime, and would like to lead the same type of life as before.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental ailment except the pain in her eyes. She was also worried about her children and other family members. The incident of crime occurred in the month of November and by that time she had already come to the stage of menopause. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was the will of God. As such she did not curse herself or her fate.

The police never created any problem for her while she was in their custody. The Jail authorities were also nice to her and their arrangement of food, milk, cloth, etc. was tolerably good. She was satisfied with all other facilities available in jail.

PROFILE : BJ-19

The subject had marginal productivity range. She quickly grasped the percepts but without concentrating on them. This showed her poor attention. She gave more of animal responses which clearly reflected immaturity of her thinking. Intellectually, the subject had less capability of testing the reality. Though she had an ability to empathize with human environment. But she considered herself to be weaker than the male counterparts which reflected her feelings of insecurity. Emotionally she indulged herself in seeking pleasure at large. Experience balance reflected her extrovert type of personality. But keeping in view her marginal reality testing and immature thinking process she lacked in decisiveness. In order to seek pleasure she was capable of doing anything without taxing her mind. She failed to conform to the social conventional norms.

Comments.

Born in a middle class Hindu family, brought up nicely and married to a businessman, Leelawati hardly had any problem in her life. Her childhood was comfortable and pleasant. Being the only daughter of her parents and sister of her three brothers, everyone in the family liked her.

Her married life was also no less happy and contented. But for the frequent visits of her daughter-in-law's father in a drunken state and his bad temper and derogatory language against her family disturbed the peace of her mind and spoiled the prestige of her family. When Leelawati asked her daughter-in-law to restrict the freedom of her father, her daughter-in-law took it as her insult and committed suicide. Leelawati was convicted. Her story did not appear to be convincing because her Rorschach data did not support her story and told something different.

Leelawati had poor concentration and lacked in maturity of thinking. She was having less capability of testing the reality. Though she had an ability to empathize with the human environment. She considered herself to be weaker than the males. This reflected her feelings of insecurity. Emotionally, she could go in for pleasure at large and share her feelings with others. Such type of persons may not conform to social norm and may commit crime. Leelawati might have committed the offence to save the prestige and dignity of her family.

CASE : BJ-20

Shanti (25) was a Hindu (Punjabi) working woman. She had an urban background. She studied upto class VIII and was employed in a factory earning about Rs.500/- p.m. Her husband was also employed in a factory on daily wages. The total income of her family was around Rs. 1200/-p.m. Her late father was a clerk and mother was a housewife. She had a large family consisting of 14 members 5 males 6 females and 3 children. Shanti was the youngest child in her family. The family was strictly disciplined.

Shanti was convicted for murdering a man who worked alongwith her in the factory. Police treated her well, while she was in their custody. No legal aid was provided to her. Her husband helped her by arranging an advocate and money for her bail. The trial went on in the court for 6 months and 10 days and on 14th July 1985. She was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

She passed off her childhood smoothly. All family members lived together and there was a cordial atmosphere in her family. Her parents were very nice to her but they did not live long. Her mother died before her marriage and father soon after. During her childhood, she was neither ill treated nor beaten by her elders. She was loved most by her father who never

discriminated against her for being a girl. Her parents mutual understanding was also very healthy.

She started going to school at the age of five. She liked her studies but had to discontinue at class VIII for not receiving proper encouragement from teachers, as she was an average student. However, nothing significant happened during her school days.

She was married at the age of 17 and went to join her in-laws soon after. Her parents could not afford to give her much dowry in marriage but they gave all the necessary things to her. Her in-laws did not demand any thing specific in dowry from her parents. It was an arranged marriage and she did not have any specific person in mind.

Though her in-laws had a large family yet, they were very nice to her. There was hardly any dispute or quarrel in the family. Her mother-in-law liked her and she felt quite secure living there. All members were satisfied with her behaviour. Life was going on smoothly but the suicide committed by her married sister-in-law moved her much and left a deep impression on her mind.

Her husband was also very nice to her. Both liked each other and were satisfied with their married life. Since she lived in a joint family, so everybody's needs were properly looked after. And all members received almost an equal treatment. Her husband did not have any bad habits nor did he have any extra marital relations with other women. He had his schooling upto class X. His behaviour towards her was quite all right but he was a bit short tempered person. He came home in time and hardly had any problem. She liked to stay with her in-laws in joint family.

She committed the crime in January 1985. It occurred due to certain situation. The man whom she killed wanted to outrage her modesty. So in order to save her dignity and to protect herself against outrageous attempt, she killed him with an iron instrument which was lying nearby. She pleaded guilty and confessed her crime, but added that it was not intentional. She did it impulsively to save her prestige and dignity. She felt quite lonely thereafter and developed hostility against the society which treated her so cruelly. She repented for what she had done. If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead any other type of life than what she had been leading in jail.

She was not suffering from any physical trouble. Nevertheless, she was worried about her husband and two small children.

The incident occurred in the month of January. She was pregnant at that time. Later she had to go in for abortion in jail because she thought it would be very difficult for her to give birth to a child in jail. Besides there was also a problem of looking after such a small baby in jail. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was the will of God.

The jail authorities were nice to her. And no one created any problem for her. Rest all the arrangement of food, bathing, etc. were alright there.

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PROFILE : BJ-20

The subject's reality testing was pathologically inadequate. Indifference or insensitivity to reality was clearly reflected in card no.V, VIII and IX. She over reacted to inessentials and ignored the obvious. She had distraction of attention and was found seriously disturbed. Initially, she started with mythological percepts and later switched over to social activities. The presence of excessive human movements indicated her suspicious tendencies. While reacting to reality testing card she gave a totally bizzaretype of response which reflected a gross thought disorder. There was instability in her personality and she failed to recognize the conventional norms. She had introverted her wishes and did not act them out. Thus she lived in the world of fantasy. There was a constant conflict in her personality and was found self-absorbed.

Comments

Educated and employed in a factory Shanti came up well in an urban setting with a slight discrimination by her grandmother for being a girl.

Shanti's married life was going on smoothly but for killing a factory worker who wanted to molest her chastity that her life was doomed for ever. This she did to protect herself against the outrageous act and save her dignity. She confessed the crime and pleaded guilty.

Her Rorschach data supported her conviction and corroborated her criminal action. She could perhaps be regarded as Schizophrenic as indicated by her thought disorders in Rorschach responses. She lived in a world of fantasy and had no contact with reality. There was an instability and conflict in her personality. As a result she could hardly recognize the social norm.

CASE : BJ-21

Gurmeet Kaur 35 years old Sikh woman, belonged to a rural background. She was uneducated and unemployed and was married to a farmer who had 30 Bighas of land. Her father was also a farmer and had a large family of 4 males, 4 females and 3 children, as dependents. She was the second eldest child in her family. Discipline in the family was normal.

She was convicted for murdering her husband. Her elder brother helped her much and tried to get her released on bail. As no legal aid was available, she had to arrange her own advocate. The case was tried in the court for 8 months and on 3rd January, 1984 she was sentenced to jail for 20 years.

Gurmeet Kaur passed off her childhood comfortably. Being the only sister of her brothers, everybody liked her. But her ^{elder} brother loved her most. She had usual quarrels with her brothers over small matters. But her parents never discriminated ^{against} her for being a girl.

She was married at the age of sixteen. She ^{went} to her in-laws soon after. Her parents gave her all necessary things in her marriage. Though her in-laws did not demand anything from her parents. She wanted to

marry a man of her choice. But her parents did not agree to it though, he belonged to her own caste.

Her in-laws were nice to her and vice-versa. But her husband was not a good man. He treated her badly, since she married him against her will. He liked her but she did not like him nor she was satisfied with him. He never told her about any of his extra marital relations. He always listened to her parents' advice and took their sides whenever there was any quarrel in the family. Though he received education upto class VIII. Yet, there was hardly any impact of education on him. He was a short tempered and an irritating person. He always misbehaved with her and taunted her about her relations with that boy whom she wanted to marry. He used to even beat her and insult her in the presence of her in-laws which she could not tolerate. He was an alcoholic addict and never came home in time. She was not at all, satisfied with her married life.

One day she, after having a quarrel with her husband, ran away from her in-laws house and went to her old friend. But when she returned to her in-laws alongwith her old friend, her husband got furious and started quarrelling with him. Her friend had a pistol with him and shot her husband dead. The police

came and arrested her. She asserted that she did not kill her husband but repented that whatever had happened was all due to her. If she were to reborn as a woman she would lead a different kind of life. She believed in God and cursed her fate for all that had happened.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental ailment. However, / she was found worried about her children who were very small then.

The murder was committed in the month of April. She could not recall her date of menstruation.

The police was not strict to her and never troubled her while she was in their custody. The Jail Authorities were also nice to her and did not provide her any reason to complain against them or their management.

PROFILE : BJ -21

The subject had a ^{poor}/productive range. But her associational productivity was good and focus of attention was well maintained. Intellectually, she had a good capability of testing the reality. Her percepts were simple and were of good quality. Her ego strength was good and boundaries were well protected.

She picked up very simple percepts initially and later showed a rigid stand. Emotionally, she was a depressed woman. Still, she had some ability to conform to the social conventional norms.

From psychiatric point of view, she proved to be a case of depression.

Comments

Born in the family of a sikh farmer in a village, with no educational background, Gurmeet Kaur was a fondled child of her parents. Being the only daughter of her parents and the only sister of her brothers, Gurmeet was the 'Darling' of everyone in the family.

But her marriage against her choice was the most unfortunate and tragic event in her life. Gurmeet liked some other boy. But parents did not agree and married her with a boy of their choice against her will. She somehow or other, compromised with the situation

and adjusted with her in-laws who were good people. But for her husband's behaviour which was so disgraceful and oppressive that she felt tense and restless. Her husband used to beat her often and insult her in the presence of her in-laws by taunting and reminding her of her love affair, which she could not bear. She did not like him and was not at all satisfied with him.

One day after a quarrel with her husband Gurmeet ran away from her in-laws house and met her old friend. She returned to her in-laws house but with her friend. This added fuel to the fire. Her husband got furious and started quarreling with her friend. During the scuffle, her friend shot her husband and she was convicted for murder.

This case shows how powerful is the feeling of revenge and how far a woman can go to take it especially when she excessively hates one and loves another. The revenge seemed to be directed not only against her husband but also against the decision taken by her parents against her. The tragedy could have been averted had Gurmeet's parents taken a favourable decision.

Gurmeet's Rorschach data did not show any other abnormal trend in her personality except depression. She was indeed depressed but her depression could be a reaction to whatever had happened to her after committing the crime.

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CASE : BJ-22

Kamla a 28 years old sikh woman belonged to a rural background. She was uneducated but was employed in a factory where she earned about Rs. 500/- p.m. She was unmarried because she did not want to marry. Her father was a fruit merchant and earned about Rs. 1500/- p.m. He was having a large family of 9 members (3 males, 4 females and 2 children). The discipline in the house was very strict.

She was convicted for murdering a man who had taken some money from her father. He did not return the money which her father needed badly. The victim had threatened her father that if the latter insisted for money, the former would kidnap his daughter. He had an evil eye on her. That way the victim was troubling her and her father. She therefore, murdered him.

Her brothers helped her with money and arranged an advocate for her. The case went on in the court for arround 7 months and 10 days and on 2nd December, 1985 she was sentenced to jail for 20 years.

She passed off her childhood quite happily. Every one loved her but she felt deprived of ^{her} mother's love as she died early. (when Kamla was very young).

Since Kamla was the eldest child in the family therefore, a lot of responsibilities came on her shoulders. However, she pulled on well as the family members were nice to her. Her father loved her most and never discriminated against her for being a girl. She never had any quarrels with her younger brothers and sisters.

She committed the crime in the month of June, 1985, and pleaded guilty. She explicitly stated that she wanted to take a revenge from that man who was unnecessarily troubling her and her father. She was so much surcharged with emotion that she became helpless at that time. But she was found repenting for all that she did. If she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead any other life than what she had been leading. She believed in God and felt that what had happened, was all due to Him.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental ailment. But she was worried about her younger brothers and sisters, because her father was also convicted along with her.

The crime was committed in June, By that time she had completed her menstrual cycle. But she specifically reported that she felt bodyaches and irritation at that time.

-: 271 :-

The police was very strict to her and treated her badly. The lady police beat her many times while she was in their custody. But in jail, no body misbehaved with her. She was satisfied with the food and other arrangements in jail.

PROFILD : BJ-22

The subject had marginal productivity. But on intellectual plan she was capable of testing the reality. She was intelligent and her ego boundaries were well protected. She had good organizational ability as well. Emotionally she had a fixed tone. Her areas of interest were wide. However she appeared to be an introvert type of personality. She had a poor ability to conform to the social conventional norms. Experience balance revealed her repression. She lived in fantasies which she could hardly dare to actualize. Though there was a strong need for love and affection in her.

Comments

Born in the family of a sikh in village, Kamla was neither educated nor married, but was employed in a factory. She passed off her childhood happily even with the loss of mother at a very tender age and heavy domestic responsibilities later.

Kamla's father had given some money on loan to someone. When her father insisted on having the money back, that fellow not only refused to pay back but also threatened her father that he would take away his

daughter Kamla smelled the rat and felt much perturbed. Because that fellow had a bad eye on her and had made certain advances earlier also. In order to prevent him from doing so and to save her dignity, she killed him. She confessed the crime and pleaded guilty.

According to Rorschach, Kamla was more or less a normal, healthy woman. Although she had less ability to conform to social norm but it was not so less as to commit crime. For committing the crime, some sort of impulsiveness is required. But Kamla's data on Rorschach did not reveal the presence of any impulsiveness although the crime she committed was the result of her impulsive behaviour.

The data further revealed that she was an introvert personality. And being as such she preferred to live in the world of fantasy. She did not have the guts to actualize those fantasies. So she repressed them. There was a strong need for love and affection in her personality for want of which she could be considered as a deprived woman.

CASE : BJ-23

Ashia (18) a Bombayite Muslim girl, was uneducated, unemployed and unmarried. She could not be married because her mother died and father re-married. After sometime, when she was hardly 16 years old she lost her father as well. After the death of her father, her step-mother became supreme authority in the family and started torturing her. Her step-mother used to get Rs.1000/- p.m. from the rent of her two shops which her father had left and was maintaining a small family of 4 members (3 females and 1 child). The atmosphere in the family was not congenial.

Ashia was convicted for running away from home. She explained that her step-mother had illicit relations with some other man and made her life a hell. So one day she ran away from her house taking some money with her. She was arrested at Panipat. No one came forward to help her while she was in police custody because she did not inform any one in the family. The case was tried in the court for 4 months and on 6th September, 1988 she was sentenced to jail for 6 months.

She passed off her childhood very miserably. Her mother had died when she was 4 years old. Her father remarried which she did not like. After some time when her father also died she was left alone in the world.

Her step-mother (after the death of her father) developed illicit relation with her neighbour and started treating her cruelly. Ashis had a married elder sister who was nice to her but she could not bear day-to-day beating, reprimand and humiliation. She felt disgusted and frustrated from this type of life.

One day her step-mother created such a situation that she had no other alternative but to run away from home. She ran away from her home in March, 1988. She had to take that step under compelling circumstances since she had no other way out. She felt alone and helpless in the world.

She confessed her crime and repented for what she had done. If she were to reborn as a girl she would like to lead any other life than what she had been leading. She believed in God and blamed herself for all that she did.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental ailment. She had already completed her menstrual cycle by the time she ran away from home.

The police treated her well while she was in their custody. Nothing specific happened there. The jail superintendent was also very helpful and nice to her. She never faced any problem with the jail authorities and their management.

PROFILE : BJ-23

The subject gave only 13 responses. Her productivity was therefore, less. Her prolonged reaction time showed psychomotor retardation. The percepts seen by the subject were good but were of simple quality. There was stereotypy in her response pattern which reflected passivity and inflexibility in her thinking. Intellectually the subject had a capacity for testing the reality and abiding by the social conventionality. However, she followed a rigid pattern. Emotionally, she reflected a state of gloom. Her toned up anxiety and dysphoric emotional state decreased her productivity. Her empathy with human environment was found below the average and thinking level immature.

From psychiatric point of view, she could be a case of reactive depression.

Comments

Born in a Muslim family in a cosmopolitan city with no educational background, a teen-aged domestic girl Ashia suffered a lot in her life. Her childhood was no less than a nightmare on account of the death of her mother and deprivation of love and affection.

When her father got remarried, her life turned from bad to worse. Her step-mother used to beat her and treat her inhumanly. Her treatment became more harsh and cruel after the death of her father. But when her ^{step-mother} / developed illicit relation with some other man her cruelty knew no bounds. She considered her as a thorn in the way and created such a situation in the house that it was very difficult for Ashia to live with her any longer. She felt disgusted and feared that she may be sold out and robbed off her purity and chastity.

In order to avoid all these nefarious activities of her step-mother she decided to leave the house. There was no way out but to run away from home. Ashia did run away but was arrested by police and convicted for that.

Her Rorschach data indicated that she was a girl of average intelligence suffering from reactive depression. Her past had been unhappy throughout. Her running away from home was on account of being maltreated by her step-mother. Her arrest and conviction could be precipitating reasons for her reactive depression.

CASE : BJ-24

Shameena, a 20 years old Muslim girl, came from an urban background. She was an uneducated and unmarried girl. Since she was engaged in prostitution, there was hardly any question of her marriage. She earned about Rs.600/- p.m. out of that profession. Her father was a farmer and the total income of her family was Rs.1000/- p.m. approximately. It was a large family and had 8 members (2 males, 3 females and 3 children). She was the eldest child in the family. Since her mother was not alive, the discipline in the family was so so.

She was convicted for doing prostitution at a younger age. Police did not treat her well. The trial went on in the court for 2 months and she was finally sentenced to jail on June 17, 1988 for two months. No body helped her except the lady who ran the brothel.

Due to poverty, Shameena passed off her childhood in a great difficulty. She missed her mother very much who had died at an early age. Although her father treated her well, yet, he sometimes beat her also. She had a younger brother also who loved her most.

She had been in the profession for the last two years. She joined that profession because she wanted to go away from her house and earn money. She adopted that profession of her own will as she had no other alternative.

She further informed that some relative took her to the brothel.

She confessed her crime and disclosed that she felt alone and helpless in the world prior to joining that profession. But she repented later. If she were to re-born as a woman she would not like to lead the life of a prostitute. She believed in God and cursed herself for her action.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental problem. However, she felt worried about her younger brothers, sisters and father.

The police treated her badly. They were very strict to her. The lady police at times tortured her and the policemen misbehaved with her. They had a bad eye on her. But she did not face any such problem in jail. Food, privacy and other arrangement in jail was alright.

PROFILE : BJ-24

The subject's productive range was limited. But her attention was organised.

Intellectually, she was capable of testing the reality. Her percepts were simple and were of good form reflecting good ego strength. Her range was narrow with immaturity in thinking process. There had been a sudden blockage in her response pattern and she was having no control over her emotions. Her ability to conform to the social conventional norm was average. And her experience balance reflected extratensive personality traits together with her capability of understanding others emotionally. Besides, she had a tendency of getting upset by a slightest provocation.

From psychiatric point of view she did not show any psychopathology.

Comments

Born in a poor Muslim family with an urban background and illiteracy, Shameena passed off her childhood in hardships and miseries. The death of her mother at an early age further filled her life with gloom and sorrow. She missed her mother more when her father beat her. She felt bad then and wished to go out of that rut.

By all accounts, it was clear that Shameena did not like to live in poverty and miserable condition. She wanted to earn money, enjoy comforts, pleasures and freedom in life. In order to pursue these goals she became a prostitute since there was no other alternative than that to achieve those goals.

Although Shameena was a prostitute, still there was nothing pathological in her personality except some immaturity in thinking and a tendency of getting upset at the slightest provocation. She had good ego-strength and could test her reality well. She may get reformed if proper conditions would be on hand to her.

CASE : BJ-25

Rukmani, a 32 years old, brahmin woman belonged to an urban background. She was uneducated but was employed as a cook in a house. She earned about Rs. 300/- p.m. She remained unmarried because her parents did not have sufficient money for her marriage and her elder brother did not support her parents. He started living separately after his marriage. Her father died and mother fell sick so the burden of maintaining the remaining part of the family fell on her. Total income of her family taken together was around Rs. 500/- p.m. She was the second eldest in her family. Discipline in the house was normal neither too strict nor too lenient.

She was convicted for murdering a man and was arrested along with her mother. No body helped her while she was in police custody. The trial went on in the court for 7 months. But she was finally awarded a sentence of 20 years in jail on 2.2.1987.

She passed off her childhood in great suffering and economic crisis. Her father died and her brother started living separately leaving them alone. As result, lot of responsibilities came on her shoulders. Her mother was nice to her and loved her most. She never gave any harsh treatment to her nor she had any quarrels with

her younger sister. Her parents mutual understanding was alright. And she was never discriminated against for being a Girl. Rather she was always appreciated.

She told that on one night a man who used to keep a bad eye on her earlier forcibly entered her house with a bad intention. Her mother could not tolerate it and hit him with a stick. She also could not control herself and threw a heavy stone on his head. As a result he died on the spot. The police came and arrested her and her mother. One of the witnesses alleged that she and her mother had deliberately killed that man. She confessed the crime, but added that she had committed it under the pressure of compelling circumstances with a view to save her prestige. The victim wanted to molest her chastity. So she did it impulsively since she had no other alternative. However she repented for what she had done and told that if she were to reborn as a woman she would like to lead a different life than she was leading.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental ailment. However, she was much worried about her younger sister. She committed the crime in July 1987 and was then expecting her menstruation. She believed in God and thought that whatever had happened was all due to His will.

The police treated her well and never created any problem for her. The jail authorities too were nice to her. However, / she suggested that in jail, long term prisoners need to be given various other types of jobs in addition to weaving the cloth which was compulsory for all. She said that she did not like weaving and wanted to do some other work. She suggested that the convicts should be given different type of work like stitching, knitting, etc. suiting to their interest.

PROFILE : BJ-25

The subject showed a poor productivity with an average reaction time. The percepts were simple but were characterised by animal contents which showed poor intellectual potentials and immaturity in thinking process. Intellectually, she showed a poor capability for testing the reality. Her productive range being limited, showed narrow areas of interest. Emotionally, she did not show any involvement and attempt for gratification. One might call it as an apathetic emotional pattern. Her experience actually showed her incapability of understanding others emotionally and of getting satisfaction from them. She also showed poor ability in conforming to the social conventional norms.

Comments

Born in a poor Hindu family in an urban setting with hardly any education and pathetic condition on account of the loss of father at a very early age, Rukmani had to pass off her childhood in great hardship and economic crisis. The crisis further increased when her elder brother got separated and stopped caring ^{for} the family. Rukmani then, had to work as a cook to maintain the family consisting of her mother and a younger sister.

One night a man who earlier had some bad designs forcibly entered into her house and tried to molest her chastity. She could not control herself and killed him to defend herself. She confessed her crime and pleaded guilty but she added that she did it under the compelling circumstances.

According to Rorschach, she was found to be intellectually immature, emotionally apathetic and socially inadaptive. Advances of the killed man could not be taken care of by her because of these weaknesses of her personality. She was considered to be slightly impulsive as crime was committed under a compelling situation.

CASE : BJ-26

Anita, a 18 years old Hindu punjabi girl, belonged to an urban background. She was uneducated but was employed as a maid servant. She earned about Rs.250/- p.m. She was unmarried because her family circumstances did not allow her to do so. Her father was a labourer and her mother a maid servant. Total income of her family was around Rs.500/- p.m. She was the second eldest child in the family. Her parents were alive. Discipline in the family was alright.

She was convicted for committing a theft. She and her brother were arrested for that. Her parents helped her while she was in police custody and arranged an advocate. The trial went on in the court for two months and on 7.3.1986, she was sent to jail for 3 years.

She passed off her childhood in extreme poverty and faced many problems. She met with an accident at the age of 10 and lost her one eye. As a result she started feeling inferior to others.

Her parents were nice to her. However, her mother loved her most and never discriminated against her for being a girl.

She committed the crime two years back. She did it with the help of her brother. She reported that due to their poverty, her brother developed a habit of

stealing things and made her also to develop the same. They stole Rs.2000/- and a video from her land lady's house. The police raided her house and recovered the stolen things from their house.

She confessed her crime and informed that she did that for the sake of money. If she were to reborn as a woman she would never do that and lead a different type of life. She further added that she would like to be born in a rich family. She believed in God but did not blame Him for all that had happened. She rather blamed herself and her brother for that.

She was not suffering from any physical or mental problem. But she was found worried about her parents, brothers and sisters. The incident occurred in the month of January and she had already completed her menstrual cycle by that time. She felt bodyaches and restlessness at that time.

The police behaved well with her while she was in their custody. The Jail authorities also were nice to her. Consequently, she did not face any problem with jail management.

PROFILE : BJ-26

The subject showed poor productivity. Her average performance as well as reaction time corroborated the same. Though she perceived simple percepts yet, these were well organized. Her ego strength was slightly below average and she had little sense of conformity to the social norm. She usually shifted from good form to poor form. Emotionally, the subject was hardly having any direct contact with the world around her (no color response). She appeared to be abnormally low in sensitivity to events that normally excite others. Personality wise she showed an introvert type of personality.

Comments

Born in an extremely poor Hindu family in an urban setting with no education and a menial job of a maid servant, Anita's life was more of wants, deprivation and sufferings than of joy and merry makings. She passed off her childhood in acute shortage of money and faced a lot of problems. She lost one eye during her childhood which developed inferiority complex in her.

She committed theft with the help of her brother who not only persuaded her to do it but also provided her the technical know-how required for the purpose.

Thus extreme poverty, deprivations and continuous need for money led Anita to commit the crime.

Her Rorschach data showed her to be an introvert type of personality with low sensitivity to her surroundings. Her weak ego-strength and inferiority caused due to the loss of one eye made her prone to suggestions and take to thieving.

CHAPTER-VIII

Discussion of Results

The results presented in previous chapter portray a dismal picture of females and tell a pathetic story of their torture, suffering and humiliation. The story of their crime is the story of their frustration, deprivation and exploitation. They were economically crippled, physically distressed and psychologically disturbed persons.

Deprivation of basic need during childhood, and denial of love during married life coupled with inhuman, cruel treatment led them to a situation of conflict, tension and frustration and made them emotionally insecure, mentally instable and existentially sick. They were neither happy at their parent's home nor at their in-laws.

Under these circumstances, nothing better than criminality and sickness could be expected from them. Their criminality appeared to be an extension of their frustration or sickness and have more than one factor. Some of these factors were found to lie in their own person and others were located in their immediate environment. Their criminality as a result was an outcome of interaction between these two factors. It would be quite relevant to discuss these factors and see how they shaped the female behaviour and produced criminality in them.

1. Environmental Factors

The environmental factors may include social system, status and role of woman, their socialization process, their image, events, situation etc. These factors were quite independent of females and had considerable influence on their behaviour by continuously operating upon them, through the process of interaction.

Indian Social System : Structural aspect

The structure of Indian society is hierarchical in nature and is based on various classes, levels and positions. These classes are defined in terms of rich, poor and middle. The hierarchy is having a graded authority structure and is so patterned that there is hardly any scope of initiative for the persons at the grass root level. The structure is just like a pyramid where one authority is invariably superseded by another.

This hierarchical authority system makes it necessary for a person to depend on another person with higher authority and produces a strong dependence motive and lack of initiative in the people placed lower in the hierarchy. Having developed this motive, the lower people always look to someone above them in authority for direction for action. They obey orders and carry on

responsibility. This kind of dependence motive has taken deep roots in Indian society. As a result people do not take initiative and still look to some one else for the solution of their problems.

The rigid hierarchical system with uneven distribution of economic resource gives rise to various classes of rich and poor and produces class consciousness among its various levels. The class consciousness gives rise to class conflicts and class conflicts in its turn, alienate the people and develop insecurity, hostility and apathy in them.

Another characteristics of this structure is that it is male oriented and male dominated. The women by and large do not find a respectable place or position in this structure. They are kept at the lowest ebb and are not taken seriously. They are generally ignored. The placement of women at such a low position, is most likely to create powerlessness, helplessness and worthlessness in them and lead them to behave differently than man. Class thus is an influencing factor in several ways especially in determining criminality among males and females.

The caste structure in the Indian society, particularly among Hindus, is another factor which plays no less role. It also creates social segmentation and social distance among people and produces insecurity, hostility and

inferiority in them. The hostility between Savarnas (high caste) and Shudras (low caste) in Hindu social system and a sense of insecurity in the latter could be quoted for the purpose. Females living in this system can not be immune from the influence of system and tend to develop the same type of tendency like that of males in their personalities.

All these characteristics stated above more or less represent a Feudal system and create various types of pathologies in both males and females. Despite some changes in the system, the spell of its stagnation is still continuing in ^{the society and} it is still working ^{with} a tradition bound, patriarchal, male-dominated and authority oriented system.

Functional aspect

In this system males are always preferred. They enjoy more authority, powers, freedom and comforts as compared to females who are generally neglected and ignored. They are just like unwanted gadget of the household placed in a corner of the house. By way of illustration, the females are discriminated right from the day they are born. The birth of a female child is so shocking that it saddens the hearts of the family members. The whole atmosphere in the family is filled with gloom and the members of the family feel rejected as if they have lost

a game. The effect of this event is so traumatic that it even upsets the mother of the child. She does not even care to feed the newly born baby for some time out of sheer frustration. She starts neglecting her, right from the beginning even though the baby is her own child.

On the contrary, when a male child is born, it is a news to the world. The whole atmosphere in the family gets filled with joy and rejoicing. All members in the family feel happy and think as if they have achieved a success in life. Feasts are thrown and music and dances are organized to extend happiness to others.

Process of Socialization

The process of socialization and rearing up practices in Indian Society are also based on sex discrimination and double standards. The boy is brought up with utmost care, comforts, love and affection. He is given perfect freedom to move anywhere and do anything he likes. All his needs are fully attended and satisfied. But a girl on the other hand, is brought up under strict control and discipline. Her needs or desires are generally overlooked and ignored and she is kept under a state of deprivation. She is given a very little freedom but that too is taken away from her when she attains the age of puberty. At that point of time the family becomes extra cautious and imposes still greater control and restrictions on her movements.

This type of restraint orientation make them non-aggressive, passive, unambitious and so on. Consequently, they become introvert, masochist or even self-negating. In contrast to this, the socialization of males encourages them to be aggressive, assertive and outward going and make them violent, anti-social or even criminal.

During childhood, a girl is kept under care, control and supervision of her parents; during adulthood (after marriage) she is under the control and supervision of her husband and in-laws. And during old age, she has to remain within the control of her sons and act according to their wishes. Thus she is required to remain in a strict control of one authority or other throughout her life.

There is hardly any freedom or independence in the life of a woman. She is not free to decide about her education; she is not free to choose her career and she is never free to choose her life partner. She is rather condemned to choose. Everything relating to her education, career and marriage is decided for her by her parents. This shows that she is merely existing, that too not for herself but for others. These types of differential opportunity structures and socialization processes invariably lead man and women to behave differently.

Status and Role

The socio-economic position of the females in Indian society hardly needs any mention. It has been found to be miserably poor, their status is inferior and their role is traditional and subservient either to parents or to their husband and in-laws. She is born to serve Male folks as a daughter, wife and mother and is required to endure miseries and suffer in silence throughout her life. The low status of women combined with low socio-economic position, deprivation and sufferings make women more vulnerable to mental or nervous breakdown.

The stereotype traditional role of women depriving her of economic independence and shutting her in the home with only child rearing and domestic duties, is a distressing reality for many Indian women. In this background where system is generating dependency; where status is creating inequality; and where socialization is producing discrimination what sort of picture of Indian women emerges, can easily be imagined.

The system, the status and the process of socialization all taken together have made the Indian women so weak and meek; docile and dependent; inferior and insecure that she cannot even raise her voice. She has

become more or less complacent and a conformist and has no choice except to compromise with the situation and suffer in silence.

Image of Women

The double standard and the sex discrimination in Indian Society has also given rise to dual image of women. The image of the women seem to be fluctuating on a continuum of two extremes where on one extreme she is having all praise and recommendations and is worshipped as a 'Godess' or 'Devi', while on the other, she is having all sorts of condemnation and treated as a commodity which can be sold and purchased. She is used as an object of pleasure and exploitation, humiliation and torture. She is rewarded when she remains within the limits of prescribed role but she is severely punished and even burnt to death when goes out of that prescribed role. Her shifting from the father's home to the home of her husband hardly makes any difference in the perception of society which prescribes checks and control to contain her within certain limits. The explanation generally given is that since women are weak they need to be protected. But behind this explanation is concealed the mistrust or distrust on women.

The people do not consider women as reliable persons. Though some attitudinal change is there, yet, the cultural attitudes, stereotypes, bias and prejudices against women do not die easily consequently, the blurred image of women is still lurking in and is adversely affecting their behaviour.

Though the system, the status, the socialization and the attitudes towards women play an important role in general scenario of crime. Yet they do not seem to be directly causing the crime. They may be developing certain predispositions to crime and may even be having a triggering effect on it, yet they themselves are not adequate enough to activate the crime. They are simply the influencing variables and not the causing variables. In order to activate the crime or to specifically ignite it, some sort of powerful, provocative stimulus or intensely disturbing situation is essentially required. There have been such situations in the case of present women that ignited the crime and ^{these} / have already been mentioned in detail in results. But it would be worthwhile to highlight some of them here as well to show as to how they were responsible for generating crime in women.

Situation/Events

Except a few events that occurred at parent's home, e.g., loss of mother at a very tender age (by death or by separation,) deprivation and discrimination, most of the situations that have led the women to crime seemed to have arisen from in-laws family. The atmosphere in the in-laws family and the situations to which they were put were so frustrating and critical that it made the women helpless. As a result, they had no other way but to commit crime.

The situations which the females could not tolerate and which made them to react so aggressively were:

- a) strained interpersonal relation with husband,
- b) persistently harsh and cruel treatment of husband,
- c) disgraceful and disrespectful situation caused by husband through abusing and beating, d) alcoholic, gambling and womanising habits of husband, e) illicit relations of husband with other women even after marriage, f) wilful neglect of wife's status, needs and dignity, g) sexual frustration, h) maladjustment, i) unhappy married life, j) strained interpersonal relation with mother-in-law born out of intrigues, jealousies, conflicts and quarrels, k) stress and strain, l) insecurity, m) ill treatment by in-laws, n) poverty, o) deprivation of basic needs of life including the need for love and affection, etc. etc.

In addition to the above, there were certain unexpected, instantaneous events also like sexual advances made by males which triggered off the crime.

There is no denying the fact that situation as a precipitative factor has a force of its own an overpowering effect and a compulsion. But does it fully explain the criminality? Does it mean that crime is the product only of situation? If that is the case then, it reduces a man or a woman to the position of a Robbot. Is man or woman simply a Robbot or a Machine? Is he or she guided purely by a mechanistic view of situations? Perhaps not. A person by virtue of having a sense of reason, rationality, imagination and a free will differentiates himself or herself from the machine. Since the latter does not have these attributes, the men or women do not always act according to the dictates of the situation.

Even if it is taken for granted that the influence of situations can not be ignored, do all the men or women behave in the same way in these type of situations? Does the personality factor not create any difference in the behaviour?

The things, the conditions, the situations may be the same for all people. But still, they arouse or invoke different type of reactions in them. As a result people behave differently. Perhaps the situations need to be

synchronised and be consistent with the person's self concept or his personality before they invoke reaction.

Personal Factors

Person, as an important component of behaviour does invariably intervene and constitute an important source of variation in behaviour criminal or other. But what it is in the person which makes a difference and creates a variation in behaviour particularly in criminal behaviour of females, is a question that needs an answer.

There are various types of personality differentials or individual characteristics that create variation in him or her. But one of the most important characteristics which creates a difference, is one's own motive or need; the strength of that need; the anticipation of need fulfilment and the value that one attaches to that need etc. etc. If these motives or needs are not fulfilled and if there is no possibility of their fulfilment they create frustration in the mind of a person and make him or her ready to react in an abnormal way. The results of the study have highlighted various such motives or needs the non-fulfilment of which caused frustration in females and paved the way for crime in them.

The most important motives of female offenders, identified by the present study were:-

1. Motive for money to maintain one's own existence or life. In order to maintain the existence money was essentially required. So money was

identified to be a powerful motive. Since most of the women in the sample were poor and deprived of their basic needs they needed money badly. So money motive governed their behaviour.

2. The second important motive identified was motive to preserve honour, dignity, integrity and character of womanhood. The women were found to be up against the attempts of molestation and rape. They preferred to commit crime to save their honour than to surrender before the voluptuous, sexual-wishes of the male folks.
3. The third motive found out was the maternal or mother motive, that is the motive to beget a child or to become a mother. The need to bear a child and attain the motherhood was so powerful in woman that they could go to any extent to fulfill that need. They even committed murder to satisfy that need.
4. The fourth motive identified was the sex motive. It was also a very powerful motive in females that governed their behaviour and led them even to prostitution. But it was so much intertwined and mixed up with other motives that it became pretty difficult to single it out and attribute it to sex only. For example, a poor, destitute girl who

went in for prostitution it became pretty difficult to prove whether she went to brothel to satisfy the sex or to maintain her life and support the family.

5. Motive for taking a revenge was another very powerful motive which overtook them and governed their behaviour. The women were found to be so hard pressed, tortured and humiliated by their husband and in-laws, that it led them to take a revenge. Murders were committed to satisfy this motive.
6. Jealousy against other women on account of having illicit relation with their husband was another motive that incited the women for crime. Their heart was filled with contempt and ^{hatred} / when they found that their husband was having illicit affair with other women even after marriage.
7. Mother-in-law intrigues, jealousies and ill-treatment also constituted certain motivational patterns that paved the way for crime. Mothers-in-law who received ill treatment (when they were daughters-in-law) projected their own feelings on their daughters-in-law later. Since they suffered at the hands of their own mother-in-law, they tended to think that their daughters-in-law in turn, must also suffer in the same way. The

guiding factor in such cases was probably the phobia (unconscious fear) haunting the minds of the mothers-in-law.

The mothers are usually found to be gripped with the fear that their sons (after marriage) would go under the clutches of their daughters-in-law and stop caring for them. They would lose their authority and stand neglected. This phobia is usually imaginary and false and hardly has any base. However, it does create a serious problem in the family and the daughters-in-law have to pay a very heavy price. They are either killed through burning or are forced to commit suicide. The data have highlighted such cases where these fears have resulted into horrible tragedies.

3. Motivation to liberate and search for identity and better quality of life:

Another motive which seemed to be implicitly governing the woman behaviour was the motive to ^{themselves} liberate/ from the social bondage and have an identity of their own. They seemed to be restless for having a change in the existing social conditions and a better quality of life.

After having suffered so much and so long, the women now seemed to have aroused from a deep slumber and become more sensitive to react to the distressful feelings. The centuries old repressions, oppressions and suffocated feelings of injustice are ready to spill over and are trying to find an outlet. The distressing emotions that have been kept under control so far, are now ready to erupt like a volcano.

The volcano seemed to have already erupted in some form and found a way through criminality and mental disorders. The criminality in women appeared to be a symbolic expression of these feelings of suffering through which they have undergone so far and a reaction to injustice done to them for the last several centuries.

Another factor that causes variation in an individual's personality is one's own mental state. The mental state of most of the women of the present study was found to be disturbed. They were found to be suffering from certain psycho-physical ailments and abnormalities which might have directly or indirectly been responsible for their crime. Predominantly, these were identified as schizophrenia, characterized by schizo-affective disorders, depressive psychoses characterized by acute mental depression, melancholia, paranoia described by feelings of guilt; hypochondriasis supported by stomach pain, psycho-

pathyic imbalances identified by emotional instability and immaturity.

The results further indicated that the women had no control over their emotions. They were mentally instable, emotionally immature and behaviourally impulsive. They were seized with the feelings of insecurity and inferiority.

Majority of them had poor intellectual capacity to the extent of even feeble-mindedness. As a result they could not properly think. They were incapable of testing the reality and had very little contact with it. They were rather irreality-oriented. Their sensitivity was low and they lacked empathy with the environment. They had poor ability to keep social norm. Some of them were introverts as well and were given to their own fantasies. They were found to be gripped with anxiety and had loss of sleep and appetite. In short, they were found to be in a disturbed mental state.

Their menstruation cycle had nothing to do with their criminality as is often alleged, though they had all such symptoms of irritability, ^{lethargy,} ^{depression} ^{usually} during their menstrual period which ^{usually} make women ill-tempered, impatient, violent and emotionally deranged and drive them to a sort of war with the world.

Some of these abnormalities e.g. anxiety, loss of sleep, loss of appetite, feelings of guilt, etc. might have developed after their arrest as a reaction to their conviction. But the rest appeared to be as a part of their personality and seemed to be in them prior^{to} the commission of crime.

Thus the psychological basis of criminality and its mental origin cannot altogether be denied but at the same time, it would be fallacious to think that this is the sole cause of female criminality, since the study hardly found any direct linkage between the two.

Mental Sickness: Genesis of Crime

There is however, still a strong tendency of the psychologists to over emphasize this psychological basis and attribute female criminality to mental illness only. They tend to reason (on the basis of certain evidence) that since women are more prone to mental illness, therefore, they tend to commit crime. Female criminality has almost become a synonym of mental illness for them. The argument may have a grain of truth. And there could also perhaps be something abnormal about woman offender as well. But to say that criminality is all due to mental illness alone is not true. Because our results did not support it.

The tendency of linking female criminality to mental illness seems to be based on certain assumptions which are neither valid nor convincing. For example, the pathological model of female criminality presumes criminal actions to be illogical, irrational and without meaning to the actor. But our results on the contrary showed that certain offences were committed with certain purpose and meaning to the offender. In some cases, it was even a well thought out plan. How could it then, be irrational and illogical?

the pathological model
Secondly, / does not seem to have taken into account the influence of socio-economic structure of society and status and role of women in a particular social system. It seems to be holding crime as an isolated event, an individual affair rather than a social phenomenon. But our study proved contrary. The data showed that socio-economic structure of the society, status and role of women, the process of her socialization, people's attitude towards her etc. had a tremendous influence on their criminality if not directly at least indirectly. These variables were found to have developed certain predispositions which ultimately led women to crime.

Thirdly, perhaps the pathological model fails to recognize the will or intention of the offender. The

will or intention is no doubt the backbone of crime and if it is taken away from crime, the whole structure of crime under IPC shall crumble and fall down like a pack of cards. The will or intention therefore, matters much in the crime committed by a normal human being. In the case of mentally sick persons, the intention or will may not have any meaning because the mentally sick persons are not supposed to be conscious of what they are doing and what would be its consequences.

But the majority of women in the present study were having a clear cut intention despite the fact that they were having certain mental imbalances, incapacities, etc. which again goes to prove that the presumption is wrong and is not tenable.

Although the consequences of adopting the sick analogy may affect both male and female equally but it is quite strange that it is argued more seriously in the case of females than in the case of males simply because the females are perceived less intelligent, less rational and less self directing.

The pathological model seems to have been based on deep rooted bias against woman which is duly reinforced by psychology in general and psychoanalysis in particular by the concept of penis envy. It will not be out of place to mention that psychoanalysis

has contributed more to the view of women as weak, inferior, passive dependent, unreliable, etc. than any other discipline.

According to Freudian analysis 'Penis Envy' in women is inevitable because women are biologically equipped with such an organ/ ^{that envy is bound to arise.} It is largely due to the females' psychological failure to come to terms with the fact that she lacks such a vital organ and her failure to be contented with an inferior clitoris that results in various forms of mental abnormality and immaturity.

What Freud said is more than true but it seems he ^{and wilfully} has overlooked/perhaps/ignored other socio-economic aspects which equally belittle women and cause inferiority and other types of abnormalities in her. Freud's emphasis on bio-sexual realms causing various types of mental ailments is well established and hardly needs any comment but the socio-genic aspect also play an equal role in the origin ^{in woman.} and genesis of pathology / Its role particularly in crime can hardly be ignored. These factors create such a psychic condition which is most likely to end up in a criminal behaviour.

Some of the empirical sociological studies of women and mental illness for example Gove (1972) and Gove and Tudor (1973) in the USA, have highlighted the importance of this socio-economic aspect. These studies attempt to

explain why women are more prone to mental breakdown than men. Instead of looking for causes in the biology or psyche of the female, these studies represent a perspective that looks towards women's status and role in society as a possible source of conflict and suffering.

In Gelb's terms (1974, pp.369-70) much of woman's suffering is not derived from intrapsychic pathology originating in the early adaptive failure but that many of their symptoms are an ineffectual reaction against their distorted and oppressive socio-sexual existence. They could not maintain healthy functioning in such a cruel milieu.

The same thing happened with the women of the present study. In the present study, the incidence of crime and pathology was more in married women than in unmarried women. And the marriage was found to be a disturbing and distressing factor since it caused a number of mental ailments and crime in women.

Gove (1972) in his paper 'The relationship between the sex-roles, marital status and mental illness found that more married women than men received treatment for mental illness. While highlighting the married women's role in advanced industrialized society he says that it has various features that are likely to lead women to mental stress and breakdown.

In Indian society which is not so advanced industrially, women generally have only one major role which is that of a house wife. Therefore, they have only one major source of satisfaction. Men, on the other hand, generally have two major roles that of husband, and bread-earner. They therefore, have two sources of satisfaction. If one fails he has an alternative. But where an Indian woman would go to find satisfaction whose single role is so painfully disturbing and frustrating. They remain within the four walls of the house only, brooding over their problems with obsession and dissatisfaction.

The traditional role may have lost its value in highly industrialized society but in India, many women are still confined to it because of their low education, low status and low esteem. Even if a married woman goes out to work outside the home, she cannot give up her traditional role. In addition to working outside the home, she is required to work inside it also. This working at two fronts tells very much upon the physical and mental health of a woman. She suffers a lot of stress and strain while keeping a balance between the two and invites a number of physical and mental problems. She finds herself to be in a double bind situation where acceptance of the stereotype feminine role has derogatory effects and the rejection of the same role also results in negative sanctions.

Gove and Tudor have probably overlooked vital factors such as socio-economic class, status of woman, age, etc. In Indian situation these factors have a great relevance so far as mental illness and crime are concerned.

For instance, in view of the economic difficulties, if the married women goes out to work she is likely to encounter stress and frustration and become liable to break down and if she stays at home she is again likely to become a brood and is liable to breakdown. This is really a dilemma and a paradox through which the Indian poor and middle class women are passing. And it does not seem to be easy for them to come out of this dilemma. But in view of their mental health which is deteriorating and the ailments with which they are suffering (on account of various factors at home) it would be better if they go out to work. Because by going out to work it might be possible for them to reduce most of their tensions developed through brooding at home. It is well established principles of psychoanalysis that most of the conflicts and tensions are reduced or resolved and people feel relieved if these are shared with others through the process of interaction with others.

One of the English Study of women of different social classes by Brown et.al. (1975) reveals that going out to work can actually mediate against mental breakdown. Brown et.al. state that they have presented evidences that being employed, can reduce the chances of developing psychiatric disorders after an event or difficulty even when women lack an intimate tie with husband or a boy friend.

CHAPTER - IX

Conclusions

In view of the results and its discussion, it could be concluded that the female criminality is a complex phenomena and needs more than one factor to be explained. It is not an isolated or individual affair as is often alleged but a social phenomena where multi-various factors play their role and contribute to its genesis.

2. Various factors were identified to determine the female criminality. However, it was the socio-economic and psycho-familial factors that were mainly responsible for it.

3. The socio-demographic variables as for example, Age, Education, Income, Marital Status and Family size were found to be positively related to criminal behaviour of females and seemed to have paved the way for crime.

4. Most of the female offenders came from rural background and large family and were found to be young, married, poor and uneducated. The young age, illiteracy, poverty, marriage, large family size and rural background were found to go together with the crime and determined female criminality. It appeared as if female criminality was a function of these factors.

5. Marriage and more particularly the situation arisen thereafter, e.g. the strained interpersonal relations with the husband, persistently harsh and humiliating treatment of husband through abusing and beating, disrespectful and disgraceful situation caused by the debauchery of husband, stress and strain created by mother-in-law's intrigues, jealousies and conflicts, deprivation and denial of basic needs of life including the need for love and affection, insecurity, overall maladjustment and unhappy married life produced a feeling of frustration in them which ultimately led them to ^{act} commit an/of crime. The criminality overall appeared to be a reaction to the frustration.

6. Most of the female offenders were found to be suffering from some mental abnormalities or disorders as for example, schizo-affective disorders, depressive psychoses, melancholia etc. etc. Besides, they were also found to be mentally instable, emotionally immature and behaviourally impulsive. They were incapable of testing the reality and had poor ability to abide by the social norm.

7. Majority of the female convicts were siezed with psycho-physical ailments like anxiety, loss of sleep, loss of appetite, various types of aches, as well.

8. The symptoms of mental abnormality found in the females did not appear to have emanated from their inborn incapacities or congenital mental defects but seemed to have developed later in life more particularly after marriage, especially from their frustrating experience of torture and humiliation which they had to bear in the family of their in-laws. It is because of these bitter experiences that they developed abnormality which ultimately resulted in criminality otherwise, they were not born as such. Female criminals did not appear to have been born but were made by the society in general and family in particular. For females of the present study, the family of in-laws and house of the husband were found to be a store house of neuresis and hot bed of criminality.

9. The mental abnormality was not found to go together with criminality as is often alleged. The present study atleast did not show any such sequential relationship. Though the females of the present study had something of abnormality or incapacities. But these were not found to be solely responsible for crime. Since there were other powerful factors also which were equally responsible ^{for} crime.

Most of the crimes committed by females were due to the situational factors rather than mental abnormality. It was therefore, considered to be fallacious to link mental abnormality with crime. It could be true only in a very few cases but such cases were hardly one or two in the study.

10. There was hardly any relationship between menstruation and crime as is often alleged by the biologists. Though, the females (except those who had reached the stage of menopause) had all such symptoms which generally make women ill tempered, impatient, violent and emotionally deranged during the menstrual period. But these symptoms were not found to lead the women of the present study to crime.

11. Motives or needs were found to play a crucial role in the case of females of the present study. The non-fulfilment of these needs and continuing deprivation had given rise to a pattern of motives which led them to crime. These motives were identified as under:

a) motive for money to maintain life, b) motive to preserve honour and dignity of womanhood, c) mother motive that is motive to become a mother, d) sex motive, e) motive for revenge, f) motive of jealousy and hate, i.e. jealousy against other woman and hate for husband,

g) security motive, i.e. fear of insecurity created mother-in-law, particularly by/ h) motive for liberation, search for identity and better quality of life.

12. The root cause of the female criminality lay in the frustration of the females for which the Indian social system was found to be inherently responsible.

The Indian social system was found to be discriminatory and anti-females. It almost ignored the females. The social structure, the socio-economic position of women, their status and role, the socialization process and the stereotyped attitude towards them, all taken together, produced a strong sense of dependency, inequality, inferiority and insecurity in them. The social system as a whole made them weak, inferior and insecure. It rendered them helpless and made them vulnerable to abnormality and criminality.

These contingencies and stringencies created by the social system on the one hand, and family system on the other, stripped off the dignity of Indian women, generated frustration in them and finally pushed them towards the path of crime. The criminality in them was therefore, a reaction to frustration and appeared to be a revolt against the society. It was a symbolic expression of

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liberation from the tyranny of the system; search for better identity and quality of life; and an emancipation of the self. The crimes among women are not going to stop so long as the system is not changed and the dignity of women is not restored.

The hypotheses proposed have been duly tested out.

CHAPTER - X

Suggestions

In order to improve upon the conditions of the women and to control their increasing rate of crime the following suggestions are made:-

1. First of all, the socio-economic position of the females need to be improved. Since the female criminality is by and large socio-genic. For this old laws of inheritance and succession need to be amended and new laws to be enacted so as to enable them to have equal right in all kinds of property (Movable or immovable; self acquired or ancestral; agricultural or non-agricultural, etc.) of the parents.
2. Right to work need to be provided and suitable amendments may be made in the constitution to this effect. If this is not possible then, unemployment allowance need to be given to the unemployed women.
3. The principle of equal wages for equal work need to be introduced and strictly implemented so as to avoid discrimination.

4. Since the women constitute nearly half of the total population, a proportionate representation may be given to them in all types of services, assemblies, parliament and local bodies like Municipal Committees/Corporations, Panchayat, etc.etc.
5. The legal aid system need to be effectively enforced and it should cover all legal matters relating to women.
6. Separate courts for women need to be established. If this is not possible then at least one court in each district need to be earmarked to decide the cases of women only. In these courts, both male and females should sit ^{in equal number} as Magistrates or Judges, that is the numerical strength of the Judiciary should be equally divided between males and females.
7. Physical torture and humiliation during the police custody need to be stopped with immediate effect. Rather, the women should not at all be kept in the police custody during night. All the investigation by the police may be done at the place of her residence in the presence of males.
8. Though the jail conditions were found to be tolerably good still it needs improvement in the area of Medical Health and care, Communication,

vocationalisation etc. The following suggestions particularly in respect of improvement in jail condition need immediate attention.

a) Medical Inspection need to be more frequent.

In addition to medical care of the convicts the care of their babies (who are with them in jail) also needs to be taken. Milk and medicines need to be provided to them.

b) More and more trades, vocations and skills need to be introduced so that they may have wider choice and may choose the trade/vocation of their liking.

c) Adequate opportunities to communicate with the jail authorities need to be provided so that they may place before them their genuine problems and seek redressal.

d) A jail committee consisting of highly placed dignified women of society alongwith the jail authorities need to be formed to look after the interests of women in jail. The committee may be allowed to visit the jail frequently and their suggestions and recommendations need to be carried out as quickly as possible. This committee should be legally constituted and it should be its statutory obligation to help the women prisoners in rehabilitating properly in society soon after they come out of jail.

10. More and more social awareness for the cause of women need to be created through education and audio-visual methods and or any other media available in society.
11. Women need to be compulsorily educated. Since ignorance is the root cause of most of the evils.

The Indian women may have a better quality of life if these suggestions are properly carried out consequently, the criminality too among them would automatically come down to its lowest ebb.

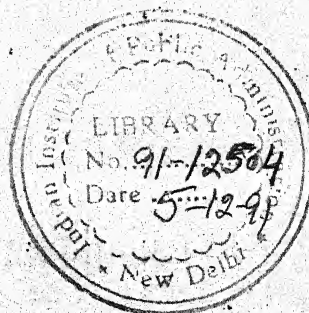
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अत्यंत गोपनीय

भारतीय चोके प्रशासन संस्थान
नई दिल्ली ।

साक्षात्कार - तालिका

हम आपके हित में आपकी भावनाओं को जानना चाहते हैं ।
इसके लिये हमने कुछ प्रश्न चुने हैं । कृपया इन प्रश्नों को ध्यान से पढ़ें,
सुनें और समझे और फिर इनका सच्चाई से उत्तर दें । इसमें डरने की
कोई बात नहीं है । आप निःसंकोच, बिना डर के ईमानदारी से उत्तर दें ।
हम आपको विश्वास दिलाते हैं कि आप जो कुछ भी कहेंगी हम उसे गुप्त रखेंगे
और किसी से नहीं कहेंगे 2 आपके द्वारा बताई गई बातों को हम केवल
शोध-कार्य में प्रयोग करेंगे । जिससे अंततः आपको लाभ होगा ।

अतः आपसे आशा करते हैं कि आप हमें अपने मन की सच्ची-2 बात बताएं ।
प्रश्नों का उत्तर देने से पहले आप हमें पृष्ठ एक पर अंकित साधारण बातों
के उत्तर दें ।

प्रोजेक्ट डाइरेक्टर
नारी एवं अपराध अनुसंधान

दिनांक

1. नाम

2. आयु

3. जाति एवं धर्म

4. निवास स्थान

॥अ॥

शहरी

॥ब॥

ग्रामीण

5. शिक्षा

॥अ॥

शिक्षित

॥ब॥

अशिक्षित

1.

प्राथमिक

2.

माध्यमिक

3.

उच्चतर माध्यमिक

4.

स्नातक अथवा स्नातकोत्तर

6. वैवाहिक स्थिति

॥अ॥ विवाहित

॥ब॥ अविवाहित - कारण

॥स॥ तनाव शुद्धा

॥द॥ परिवर्तता

7. व्यावसायिक स्थिति

॥अ॥

रोजगार

॥ब॥

बेरोजगार

यदि रोजगार में थी तो किस किस का काम करती थी

8. मासिक आय

9. पारिवारिक व्यक्त्यायिक स्थिति

॥अ॥ पिता का व्यवसाय

॥ब॥ माता का व्यवसाय

॥स॥ पति का व्यवसाय

10. परिवार की कुल मासिक आय
परिवारिक स्थिति
11. आपका परिवार कैसा है ?
 {अ} ईकाइ
 {ब} सम्मानित
12. परिवार के सदस्यों की संख्या
 {अ} पुरुष {ब} स्त्रियां {म} बच्चे
13. आपके जन्म का क्रम
14. क्या आपके पिता जीवित है ? हां - नहीं
15. क्या आपकी माँ जीवित है ? हां - नहीं
16. परिवार पर आश्रित सदस्यों की संख्या
17. परिवार में अनुशासन कैसा है ?
18. आप किस अपराध में सजा पा रही है ? अपराध का संक्षिप्त विवरण ।
19. आपके प्रति पुलिस का बर्ताव कैसा था ?
 {अ} उस समय किसी ने आपकी सहायता की हो तो बताइए
 किस सा में
20. क्या आपको कानूनी सहायता भी मिली ? हां नहीं
21. कितने दिनों तक मुकदमा चला ?
22. सजा कब हुई अर्थात् कौनसी तिथि को सुनाई गई ?
23. कितने साल की सजा हुई ?

भाग एक

1. आपका बचपन कैसा गुजरा ?
बचपन में आपके साथ कोई साप घटना घटी हो तो बताईये
2. आपके माता पिता आपके साथ कैसा व्यवहार करते थे ?
3. परिवार में आपके सम्बन्ध कैसे थे ?
॥ अ ॥ पिता से
॥ ख ॥ माता से
॥ ग ॥ भाईयों से
॥ द ॥ बहनों से
॥ च ॥ अन्यो से
4. क्या आपको कभी मारा पीटा भी जाता था ? हां नहीं
यदि हां, तो कारण बताइए
5. क्या बचपन में आपका भाई बहनों से झगड़ा होता था ? हां नहीं
यदि हां तो कारण बताइए
6. आपके माता पिता के आपसी सम्बन्ध कैसे थे ?
7. क्या उनका आपस में झगड़ा होता था ?
अक्सर कभी-कभी कभी नहीं
8. आपको घर में सबसे अधिक कौन चाहता था ?
9. क्या उन्होंने कभी आपसे नज़दीकी होने के नाते भेदभाव किया ?
10. क्या आपके माता पिता भाईयों और बहनों में भेदभाव करते थे ?

भाग दो

1. आपने किस आयु में स्कूल जाना शुरू किया ?
2. क्या आपको स्कूल में जाना अच्छा लगता था ?
3. शिक्षकों का आपके प्रति कैसा व्यवहार था ?
4. क्या वे आपको पढ़ाई के जिम्मे उत्साहित करते थे ?
5. आप स्वयं पढ़ाई में कैसी थी ?
6. कुछ समय न आने पर क्या शिक्षक आपकी सहायता करते थे ?
7. क्या आपकी पढ़ाई में रुचि थी ?
8. आपने किस कक्षा में पढ़ना छोड़ा ?
9. क्या आप आगे भी पढ़ना चाहती थी ?
10. आगे ना पढ़ पाने के क्या कारण थे ?
11. विद्यार्थी जीवन में कोई खास घटना घटी हो तो बताइए ?

भाग तीन

1. आपका विवाह किस आयु में हुआ ?
2. शादी के बाद आप ससुराल कब गई ? कितने समय बाद ?
3. आपने माता पिता ने शादी में आपको कितना दहेज दिया ?
4. क्या ससुराल पक्ष की ओर से दहेज की माँग हुई थी ?
5. आपकी शादी कैसे हुई ?
 - ॥अ॥ अपनी मर्जी से
 - ॥ब॥ माता पिता की कर्जी से
6. क्या आप किसी और से शादी करना चाहती थी ?
7. अपनी नज़्दिके लड़के से शादी न होने की क्या वजह थी ?
 - ॥अ॥ लड़का दूसरी जाति का था
 - ॥ब॥ लड़के की उम्र ज्यादा थी
 - ॥स॥ लड़का सुन्दर नहीं था
 - ॥द॥ माता पिता लड़के के विरुद्ध थे ।
 - ॥य॥ लड़का या उसके घर वाले धनवान नहीं थे ।
 - ॥न॥ लड़के का चान्चल ठीक नहीं था
 - ॥छ॥ अन्य कोई कारण

8. ससुराल 'वाजों' का आपके प्रति कैसा बर्ताव था ?

१११ ससुर	१११ सास
१२१ जेठ	१ 2१ जेठानी
१३१ देवर	१३१ देवरानी
-	१४१ ननद
	१५१ अन्य

9. क्या ससुराल ने जोग आपके व्यवहार में संतुष्ट थे ?

10. क्या आपकी सास आपको चाहती थी ?

11. ससुराल में ऐसी कोई खास घटना हुई हो जिसने आपके जीवन पर गहरा असर डाला हो तो बताइए

12. क्या आप ससुराल में अपने आपको पूर्णतया सुरक्षित महसूस करती थी ?

13. क्या ससुराल वाले आपकी कद्र करते थे ?

14. क्या ससुराल में आपका लिपी से झगड़ा भी होता था ? यदि हाँ तो किस बात पर

भाग चार

1. आपके पति आपसे कैसा व्यवहार करते थे ?
2. आपसे उनकी शादी कैसे हुई ?
 'अ' उनकी इच्छा से 'ब' आपकी इच्छा से
3. शादी के बाद क्या वे आपको चाहते थे ?
4. क्या आप भी अपने पति को उतना ही चाहती थी ?
5. क्या वे आपको सब सुख सुविधाएँ देने थे ?
6. क्या आप उनसे पूर्णतया संतुष्ट थी ?
7. क्या वे भी आपसे पूर्णतया संतुष्ट थे ?
8. क्या आपके पति शादी से पहले किसी अन्य स्त्री से भी सम्बन्ध रखते थे ?
9. क्या उन्होंने इन सम्बन्धों के बारे में आपको कभी कुछ बताया ?
10. क्या आपको पति के पूर्व सम्बन्धों का ग़याब नज़राना करता था ?
11. आपके पति घर में किसका कहना मानते थे ?
 आपका
 माँ का
 पिता का
 भाई का
 बहन का
 किसी अन्य का

12. झाड़ा होने पर आपने पति किसी पक्ष में थे ?
आपका
पाँ का
पिता का
भाई का
बहन का
किसी अन्य का
13. क्या आपके पति पढ़े लिखे हैं ? यदि हाँ तो कितने
14. अपने पति के स्वभाव के बारे में बताइए
15. उन्होंने कभी आपसे दुर्व्यवहार, गाली गजब अथवा मारपीट की हो तो कारण सहित बताइए
16. उनमें कोई बुरी आदत जैसे शराब पीना, जुआँ खेलना या नशीले पदार्थों का सेवन आदि था तो बताइए
17. क्या विवाह के बाद भी वे किसी अन्य स्त्री से नाजायज सम्बन्ध रखते थे ?
18. क्या आपको उनका दूसरी औरतों से बात करना बुरा लगता था और उनसे ईर्ष्या होती थी ?
19. आप पति के साथ श्रम रहना पसंद करती थी या संपूर्ण तानों के साथ मिलाजुल कर ?
20. क्या आपके पति समय पर घर आते थे ?
21. क्या आप अपने वैवाहिक जीवन में संतुष्ट थी ? यदि नहीं तो क्या कारण थे ?

भाग पाँच

1. यह अपराध आपने कब किया ?
2. क्या कारण थे अर्थात् ऐसे कौन से हाजात हो गये थे जिनसे मजबूर होकर आपने यह अपराध किया ?
3. आपने यह अपराध :
 - ॥अ॥ अपनी इच्छा से किया
 - ॥ब॥ किसी ने आपको मजबूर किया
4. क्या आप अपराध करने समय बेहوش हो गई थी और अपने ज्ञान आपसे पास कोई रास्ता न था ?
5. आपने यह अपराध किस नीयत से किया ?
 1. बदने की भावना से प्रेरित होकर
 2. जैसे के नाजब में आकर
 3. अपने सन्तोष के लिये
 4. दुनियां को यह दिखाने के लिये मैं किसी से कम नहीं
 5. ईर्ष्या के कारण
 6. समाज से बदनाम होने के लिये
 7. रिश्तों में कटुता आ जाने के कारण
 8. भार्य वश हो गया
 9. आपसी दुश्मनी के कारण
 10. ससुराल वानों से मनमुटाव हो जाने के कारण
 11. मानसिक तनाव तथा पतन बिगड़ जाने के कारण
 12. हाजात से मजबूर होकर

6. क्या इस अपराध में कोई और भी शामिल था अथवा आपने अकेले किया ? यदि कोई और शामिल था तो बताइए ?
7. क्या सम्राज वानों ने अपराध होने के बाद आपकी कोई सहायता की ?
8. क्या आपके माता-पिता ने आपकी कोई सहायता की ?
9. आपको जमानत पर छुड़वाने की कोशिश किन्हीं की ?
10. क्या आपने सचमुच यह अपराध किया है या फिर आप पर झूठा इल्जाम लगाया गया है ?
11. क्या आप मानती है कि आपको जो सजा हुई है वह उचित है और आपको अपने किए का फल भिना है ?
12. क्या अपराध करने से पहले आपको यह अहसास हुआ था कि आप समाज में अकेली पड़ गई है और उससे कट कर रह गई है ?
13. समाज से अलग थलग पड़ने की भावना आपमें कब उत्पन्न हुई ?
14. क्या समाज के प्रति विद्रोह की भावना उत्पन्न होने पर आपने यह अपराध किया ?
15. क्या आपको यह प्राश्चित होता है कि मैंने यह गलत काम किया ?
16. यदि आपको अगले जन्म में भी स्त्री जन्म मिले तो आप कैसा जीवन बिताना चाहेगी ?

॥अ॥ कोई अन्य जीवन अथवा ॥ब॥ यह जो अब बिता रही है ।

भाग छः

1. क्या आपको भूख ना चगने की परेशानी होती है ?
2. क्या अपराध से पहले भी आपको भूख नहीं जगती थी ?
3. क्या आप किसी शारीरिक कष्ट से परेशान हैं ?
4. क्या आपको अपराध से पहले भी कोई शारीरिक कष्ट था ?
5. क्या आपके मन में कोई चिन्ता या बैवैनी रहती है ?
6. क्या पहले भी रहती थी ?
7. क्या आपको सिर दर्द की शिकायत रहती है ?
8. क्या पहले भी रहती थी ?
9. क्या आपको नींद ठीक तरह से आती है ?
10. यदि नहीं तो क्या पहले भी नहीं आती थी ?
11. अपराध की यह घटना किस समय किस महीने में हुई ?
12. अपराध के समय आपके मासिक धर्म की क्या स्थिति थी ?

॥अ॥ मासिक धर्म होने वाला था ।

॥ब॥ मासिक धर्म की अवस्था में थी ।

॥स॥ मासिक धर्म हो चुका था ।

13. मासिक धर्म के समय आपको अपने कमरे में क्या कोई विशेष परिवर्तन महसूस हुआ ?

१अ१ बैचनी

१ब१ थकावट

१प१ चिड़चिड़ाहट

१द१ आनस

१च१ अधीरता

१छ१ अन्य कोई शारीरिक कष्ट

14. क्या उस समय आपकी शारीरिक अथवा मानसिक स्थिति में कोई बदलाव आया ?

15. क्या आप धर्म में निष्ठा रखती हैं ?

16. क्या आप इस अपराध करने पर अपनी किस्मत को कोमती हैं ?

17. क्या आप यह सोचती है कि जो कुछ हुआ भावान की मर्जी थी ?

भाग पात

1. अपराध करने के बाद पुलिस का आपके प्रति कैसा बर्ताव था ?
2. क्या पुलिस आपके प्रति बहुत कटोर थी ?
3. क्या पुलिस अधिकारियों ने आपको कभी लग किया ?
4. अन्य कोई विशेष घटना उस समय घटी हो जब आप पुलिस हिरासत में थी तो बताइए ?
5. फाँसी होने के बाद जेल में - जेल अधिकारियों का आपके प्रति कैसा बर्ताव है ?
6. जेल की व्यवस्था से आपको कभी कोई परेशानी हुई हो तो बताइए ?
7. जेल में खाने पीने की व्यवस्था कैसी है ?
8. क्या जेल में नहाने धोने अथवा एंजात की उचित व्यवस्था है ?
9. क्या आप जेल व्यवस्था के बारे में कुछ और कहना चाहेंगी ?

